821 given on p. 528). Others are Tsonara the fisherman (*ara* = to catch fish with rod and hook); Ataras, the pinna shell; Kuka, the crab; Toa, the fowl; Idetesoan, men carrying a prisoner on a stretcher (*tesoan*) to the place where he is to be eaten; Bannus, a bird with wings spread and an almond in his mouth. Another group represents two men with a dog behind them, pursued by a crocodile which is trying to eat the dog, and another, two brothers, one of whom is teaching the other how to copulate. The Milky Way is called Ru'in (= water) and is thought to be a river. The tides are connected with a constellation called Bobo, which is supposed to resemble a fish. When Bobo sets into the sea the tide comes in and swallows up the shore, i.e. there is an exceptionally high tide. When Bobo twinkles, it is because the fish is eating a stone.

[184 502] The people living on the east coast of Buka have more knowledge of the stars than those of the north coast of Bougainville, because they use them for guidance on long voyages in big plank canoes, the Bougainville people contenting themselves with much shorter local journeys. The Kurtatchi people told me this, and it was confirmed by inquiries made on a visit to Hanahan (E. Buka), where I obtained a detailed description of a canoe being steered by the stars to the island of Nissan (see p. 381). At Kurtatchi the people were not much interested in these matters, and few knew anything about them.

FLORA AND FAUNA

000 I can make no attempt to give a scientific account of the flora and fauna of the region. It seems to be essentially similar to that of other parts of Melanesia, which has been described by Guppy and others. The following notes are given in order to provide a picture of the environment in which the natives live and work, and on the products of which they are dependent for their subsistence and for the means of manufacturing practically all of their material possessions.

824 192 All, even the children, have an extraordinarily detailed knowledge of the trees, shrubs, and even of the small plants and grasses that grow in their locality. Many of these are, of course, utilized in some way or other, as food, or for 'making medicine', or in connexion with one or other of the native crafts. But they can

give a name even to those which they say are of no use to them. 824 ● Unfortunately, in many cases I was unable to identify the plants of which the native names were given to me.[1] 192 Sometimes the same term will be used for a number of plants of similar habits of growth, e.g. *wanis*, fairly translatable by our generic word 'grass', and *kurits*, used for a hanging vine or creeper, often as a prefix attached to another word. There is a generic word for 'tree'—*no'on*, which also means wood, especially firewood (*kuip no'on*, to cut firewood, one of the women's daily tasks).

Some of the trees appear not to be indigenous. Mrs. Hadden 137 told me that her father, Mr. Parkinson, the anthropologist, who was the first white man to live in this region (about forty years ago), introduced some of the citrus fruits and other useful trees, which have since spread rapidly throughout the area.

The natives cultivate coco-nut palms, areca palms, and bananas, [245] as well as taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) and other vegetables (some account of their food plants is given in Chapter VIII). Breadfruit trees and canarium almonds are highly prized, the position of each one is known, and they are always spared when fresh ground is cleared for a new taro garden. Some of the trees which 137 go to make up the uncut bush yield a hard timber which is found 313 useful by the resident whites for building and for piles, especially such as withstand the ravages of salt water. But the difficulty of transportation renders these of no commercial value. The natives use them for house-posts and other purposes, but prefer the soft-timbered trees for their canoes. The most striking objects in the bush are huge trees with enormous flanges buttressing their trunks, and the aerial roots of the banyans, which serve the natives as [342] ridge poles for their huts. Several different kinds of palm and of bamboo are used for a variety of purposes. A big carophyllum tree is a frequent landmark on the lee shore, affording welcome shade under which the men sit mending their nets and the women making hoods or baskets or playing with their babies. A large fallen trunk on the beach at Petats was a favourite gathering-place for all. Parts of the shore are covered with mangrove swamps, which make landing impossible.

Of smaller growth, there are several kinds of croton and hibiscus, 137
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[1] For the identification of some of them I am indebted to the authorities of Kew Gardens. A list of these will be found in Appendix III. Others I have recognized from the description given by Guppy.

361 set up outside the line, as at Petats; this is usually a sign of a village which has come under the influence of the white man. The villages are now increasing in size, as the natives are encouraged by the Government to live in larger groups for greater ease of supervision. Probably originally all the hamlets were much smaller than most of them now are, and consisted only of relatives. This still holds good to some extent, but the rule is not invariable, and a family may move out of one hamlet into another. The system of segregation is carried out most rigorously in the mountain districts of central Bougainville, where a few huts, or even a solitary one, will be set in a small clearing on a hill-top, hidden from sight by the thick bush closing in upon it on all sides.

The front of the line of huts is always carefully set in a line, measured by means of a length of fibre, but as they are of different sizes to suit their occupants, the back of the row is irregular. The width is always approximately the same (about 12 ft.). The huts are always set very close together, sometimes not more than a foot or two separating them. This space is sometimes utilized for
● [829] growing crotons or other plants valued for their colours or for their properties as 'medicine'.

There is no prescribed orientation for the lines of huts. They sometimes run parallel to the coast-line, sometimes at right angles to it. At Kurtatchi the original two lines of huts are in the former position, but the huts that were moved from Gomen were placed
[513] parallel to the cliff-edge, i.e. at right angles to the other lines (see plan, p. 586). Since the line of beds is always at right angles to the long axis of the hut, it follows that there is not, as is sometimes the case among primitive people, either a prescribed or a forbidden orientation for sleeping.

361 In most villages there will be one or two huts situated apart from the rest, occupied by people who do not care to mix too much
156 with the others. At Petats there was the primitive shed belonging to the old man Hangunasi (now dead), who did not like the way the Petats people are adopting the customs taught them by the mission. At Kurtatchi, one man, Ora, had placed his hut right away from the village, which he seldom visited and discouraged his family from frequenting. The villagers told me it was because he did not like to live with other people; they considered it very odd, and when I showed them the plan I had drawn of the village, with Ora's hut away at the edge of the paper, it always caused

is not told anything about the betrothal. It is usual for the father 584
of a boy who is *tsunaun* to choose for his son's first wife a girl who
is his equal in rank, but there appears to be no hard and fast rule [565]
on the subject. A *tsunaun* girl may be betrothed to a commoner
if her mother agrees, but this is somewhat unusual, as it involves
the handing over, at a later stage in the negotiations, of a larger [436]
amount of ceremonial currency than a commoner is likely to have
at his disposal.

At the time arranged the boy's mother goes to the girl's village, 584
taking with her some leaves of the plant called *unun*, which were 824
used for women's girdles before they possessed loin-cloths, and
the variegated leaves of *iag* (*Coleus Blumei var.*). This plant is [291]
grown along with taro in the gardens and is supposed to ensure a good crop, so it is possible that the use of its leaves in betrothal may have some reference to the bride's future fertility, but my informants did not say so. It is used also in the ceremony for a pregnant woman (see p. 142). The boy's mother decorates the girl with these leaves, putting some round her neck and some round her waist. The two mothers chew the betel-mixture together. Except for this, nothing is eaten at this part of the proceedings, and there is no dancing. Word goes round to all the villages that the girl is betrothed, so that no one else will try to get her. But she still remains with her mother, and does not go near the boy's village as yet.

When she is about seven or eight ('as big as Kiram's wife Buin', 584
who is about that age), the boy's mother goes to the girl's village [302]
and paints the girl's hair with *oin*. If the boy's mother is dead his mother's sister undertakes this duty. When she has finished painting the girl's hair, she may, if she wishes, take the girl home with her. She first chews the betel-mixture with the girl's mother, and fixes a time for her to come and visit her daughter. The girl then accompanies her future mother-in-law home, and the boy now sees his bride for the first time. This first meeting is called *komau*. The girl goes inside the boy's mother's hut, but she stays near the woman's entrance, and does not go near his bed (if he has not yet put on the *upi* and is therefore still sleeping there). She must not speak to the boy; the two are very shy with one another.

After three or four days agreed upon have passed, the girl's mother comes to the boy's village, accompanied by other women from her own village. Any woman who wishes may join in this

provide them with taro and *menak*, &c. When they have eaten, 583
they go back to the girl's village.

Soon after the boy's mother has received this intimation by 584
means of the offering of pig-meat, she cooks pieces of pig and taro
and wraps them up into packages with leaves, lays them in a *kōbū* [415]
(receptacle made of the spathe of the areca-palm), and sends it to
the relative she expects to provide her with the necessary cere- [824]
monial currency in respect of the marriage of her son. This is generally her brother, the boy's *tsoa*, but if he cannot produce enough a similar *kōbū* containing food is sent to other male relatives until enough is provided. If necessary, the relatives of the boy's father may also be called upon. If the recipient of the *kōbū* cannot provide any currency-strings, he must not eat any of the food, but must send the *kōbū* back with its contents untouched. If he can help, he eats the food sent to him, and presently brings
to the boy's mother such strings of *imun* (currency consisting of [436]
porpoise or flying-fox teeth, see p. 448 and Pl. 67) or *beroan* as he is prepared to contribute. It is not handed over to the girl's people at once, but remains for a time in the boy's mother's hut. Sometimes it takes a long time to collect the necessary amount.

The amount required is more or less governed by convention, 583
but was said by my informants to be fixed by the girl's father. In
actual fact, I found that other relatives, including her mother's 436
brother, especially if he lived in the same village, also had a say in the matter. In this, as in many other matters, practice is more elastic than theory. It varies in different districts, and also according to the position of the girl. For a girl who is *tsunaun* a much [565]
larger amount changes hands than for a commoner. For Tagoal, Kiram's wife, it was ten fathoms of *beroan* and ten of *imun*, both porpoise and flying fox. A fathom of *beroan* has a value to the
natives of about 5*s*. in our money, and one of *imun* of either kind [435]
is worth about £5, in their estimation, so that the arbitrary conventional value of the currency handed over in respect of Tagoal's marriage amounted to about £52 10*s*. For a commoner a usual amount is said to be four fathoms of *beroan* and two of *imun*. But it may be more, and it is said sometimes to be as little as one string of *imun* and one or two of *beroan*.

In answer to a question as to what would happen if the boy's 583
people could not collect the amount asked for, my informants said the ceremony would be deferred until they had. Asked further, 'But

583 suppose they never did?' they seemed to think that in such a case the match would be declared off, but no one had ever heard of such a thing happening. As there is a considerable number of people who can be applied to for contributions, such a contingency, if it does occur, is probably rare.

When she has collected enough currency the boy's mother sends word to the girl's mother and fixes a time to go and pay it, some days ahead. A man goes to take this message; apparently any man who is willing to undertake the journey may do so. The girl's mother prepares a feast, which must include pig. If the girl is a commoner there need not be much pig-meat, but for a girl *tsunaun* many pigs must be provided.

● [824] [531] The boy's mother and her brother, and also the boy's father, count up the strings of *imun*, and rub the teeth with the cut stalks of the plant *rurupari* to clean them. They rub fresh *oin* over the strings that hold the teeth together, and put the *imun* into a pot with more *oin*. When the cleaning is finished, the slit-gong is beaten as many times as there are strings of currency, both *imun* and *beroan*. This is done the day before the visit of payment is made.

583 276 The next day the boy's mother, accompanied by many of the people of her village, goes to the girl's village. They do not go right up to it at first, but sit down beside the path near the village and wait. Meanwhile, the girl's mother skins a large quantity of areca-nuts and fills up a *kōbū* with them, she pours powdered lime over them and puts pepper-stick on top of them. Then she puts into the *kōbū* one string of *imun* and one string of *beroan*, which she must give to the boy's mother and mother's brother. This is said to be 'to pay for the boy'.

[602] Then those relatives of the girl who will henceforward stand to the man in the relation of *tauwē* (i.e. her brothers, both blood and classificatory), go and carry the *kōbū* full of areca-nuts to the people who are waiting on the road. All those who will henceforward be *waris* to the boy (his wife's parents, and all those to whom she applies the same relationship terms) remain in the hut belonging to the girl's mother; they all put on hoods—even the men must put on the women's hoods for a short time. They stay in the hut until the *tauwē* come back with the *kōbū*, from which the boy's relatives have taken out the *imun* and *beroan* and as many of the areca-nuts as they require. If there are a number in the party they may take them all.

593 The time when the girl is handed over to her husband is, in every case, judging both from what I have seen and from what the girls themselves have told me, a period of strain. It not infrequently happens that the young wife, whether from actual fear or merely from shyness, runs away before the marriage can be consummated, and takes refuge with her mother. Her mother is supposed to bring her back, together with an offering of ceremonial pudding, but sometimes much persuasion, or even force, is necessary before she can be induced to return. An instance of this came under my personal observation. Gerigir is a young man of perhaps nineteen or twenty, his wife, Kalo, perhaps thirteen or fourteen. She belongs to a village several miles distant. She did not want to be married, and has frequently run away and returned to her mother. On one occasion she stayed away for several months, and this came to the notice of Pinari, who keeps a sharp eye on all that happens in his village. He finally asked Gerigir why his wife was not living with him. It turned out that he had never consummated the marriage. He said she always ran away from him. Pinari sent him, with some other people, to fetch her. I went with the party. When we got there, Kalo hid herself inside her mother's hut, crying bitterly, and nothing would persuade her to come. Her mother refused to force her, and finally we had to return without her. Another deputation was sent over next day, and out of shame her mother made her go; she was brought into Kurtatchi, still crying. She stayed a couple of weeks, during which the marriage was consummated, and then ran away again. Gerigir was shortly after-
[837] wards discovered in a compromising situation with one of Pinari's wives, and thought it prudent to absent himself from Kurtatchi, so he went and lived in his wife's village, from which he had not returned when I left.

789 The following 'medicine' may be used by a man whose wife frets for her mother:

[824] *Kakariuk* (*Selaginella flabellata*).

Take the leaves of this fern and mix them with *oin*, and rub this mixture on to the girl's hair. This will make her cease to long for her mother and she will stay with you.

593 The outset of her married life is a trying time for the girl. Muben was a pathetic figure for many weeks after her marriage with Kakari (Pl. 9), who, having a septic foot and other affairs of

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

If a woman is angry with her husband, her method of retaliation is to go off to her own people, if her village is within reach, taking the youngest child with her. This usually brings the husband over within a day or two, with entreaties to return, because he cannot bear to be parted from his baby. Sometimes his wife will persistently refuse to come back for a long time, and there will be talk of a divorce, but in the end she will relent. This happened again and again in the course of my stay at Kurtatchi. 593 578

There is 'medicine' to make a runaway wife come back: 789

> If your wife runs away from you, get some of the leaves of the plant *rakot*, squeeze out the sap, then get some one to steal your wife's pipe, put some of the sap inside the pipe and have it given back to her. As she smokes it her thoughts will turn to you and she will come back. 824

Sometimes marital quarrels end in the suicide of one or other of the pair. This question is discussed in further detail in Chapter XIV. Suffice it to say in the present context that the examples which came to my notice—by hearsay, however, only—lead me to suggest that these people do not support Havelock Ellis's suggestion that 'among primitive peoples suicide from erotic motives seems to occur chiefly among women' (1933, p. 277). 762

SOME TYPICAL MARITAL HISTORIES

The information given in the preceding paragraphs was obtained from several informants at different times, and where occasion arose was corroborated by my own observation. Several of the points are illustrated by the matrimonial adventures of Pinari, the *tsunaun tʃan* at Kurtatchi, which may be considered typical, except that most men content themselves with three or four wives to Pinari's eleven, of whom, however, only four are now living. 595

Marital history of Pinari

1. He was betrothed to Rusu, a woman of rank at Ieta, when both were young. She bore him six children, of whom three are living, now adult and married. She had been dead for some years when I was at Kurtatchi, but was always spoken of by Pinari as if he had cared for her.
2. Tchinagot. Was married to Pinari when she was quite a small child, as his second wife, but died before the marriage was consummated. Pinari regretted this very much. He said she was 'very good'.
3. Tchinawoa. Died with her first child, who died also.
4. Tauwo. Had two children by Pinari, one died in infancy, the other is now about six or seven, and is looked after by Pinari. She has

837 woman answered: 'She is angry with her husband, because he has gone
578 to meet another woman in the bush.'

Sometimes the lover is bold enough to come to the woman in her own hut. This, if discovered, very considerably aggravates the offence. In the case of Kumun, referred to on p. 112, it seemed to me that Pinari was hardly more angry over the pregnancy itself than he was over the fact that she and her lover had been together in the hut. It turned out that some one who was in their confidence had betrayed them, and Gerigir was caught standing beside her bed while she was lying on it. He made a great point of the fact that he was not lying down with her, but in the end he paid a length of *imun* to Pinari as compensation, though both vehemently denied that he was the father of her expected child. Pinari, however, was not appeased by the payment, even though he accepted it, and Gerigir was still in disgrace when I left, three months later.

837 Endless tales are told about such intrigues. A common incident
in them is that the child of one of the pair, angry with its parent,
538 perhaps for not giving it something it wanted, spies on the couple,
and goes and tells the husband or wife, as the case may be, of its
parent's lover what is going on. Whether this happens in real life
as often as it does in the tales, I do not know, but it is certain that
the children often have a pretty shrewd idea of the state of affairs.

837 Cases of what would in our own society be described as 'entice-
ment' sometimes occur. I select the following instance, which is
not an isolated one, from my files: Erut was married to Masor,
a man belonging to another village. Pasab, of Kurtatchi, whose
[832] first wife was dead, wanted her, and made love magic with *magor*
(see p. 121) to cause her to leave her husband and come to him.
She did so; her husband divorced her, was given back his cere-
593 monial currency, and Pasab married her. They have one little
girl. I saw a good deal of their family life, and thought the relations between them, both with each other and with the child, were extremely good. They are always working in one another's company, seem very happy together, and I have not heard any gossip about either of them, which is rather unusual.

832 If a man wishes to have his wife back, he may try the following 'medicine':

> ● 824 If your wife has run away with another man, chew the rootlet of the plant *wapiu* (unidentified) with the betel-mixture, and spit the mixture

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on to the doors of your house. Your wife will then love you again and 824 ●
will come back to you.

Often but little notice is taken of these affairs. Occasionally an 837
injured husband will claim from his wife's lover a string of ceremonial currency or a pig, or he may take the opportunity to divorce his wife, but usually only if he wishes to do so on other grounds. More often nothing is done about it, unless the woman becomes pregnant.

There are a number of plants (see pp. 134–8) believed to possess 824
contraceptive properties, which are generally known and widely
used by the women in their intrigues. Whatever the reason, it is 842
certain that these affairs are followed by pregnancy less often than 837
might be expected. When conception does occur, the matter 847
begins to be taken seriously. Sometimes the woman will pretend
that the child is her husband's, and this will be tacitly accepted, 848
even though other people besides the couple and the woman's husband know it to be false. This I have on hearsay evidence only. In other cases—this also I have only through informants, but from more than one, and these reasonably reliable—attempts are made to produce an abortion in order to avoid discovery. One account given to me runs as follows: 'If a woman has been with her lover in the bush and finds she is pregnant, she says to him: "My blood is not flowing, I think I am going to have a child, I have had no flow for one moon." They are ashamed, and talk about it for a long time. Then the man gets the leaves of the *karĕb* plant (a tough creeper, of the *Rutaceae* order, whose stems are used for making string), and chews them with lime, and rubs the mixture on the women's abdomen. She swallows some of it, and it causes the flow to begin again. Then the man says to all the people who laughed at the woman because they thought she was pregnant: "Look, she is menstruating, she is not pregnant".' It may be that the massaging of the abdomen is sufficiently violent to produce the desired effect, without presupposing any actual result of chewing the *karĕb* leaves. They say that a woman will never bring about an abortion in the case of a child by her own husband, however many she may have. But they do it for the children of their lovers, because if a woman has a child by a man other than her husband
she is ashamed. Cases have occurred in the past of women preg- [762]
nant by their lovers committing suicide by jumping from the top of a tree.

for medicines for healing sickness, these being all in the same 832
category in the native's mind. I have a large number of such 'prescriptions' in my collection, some given me under pledge of secrecy. It will be noted that some of them also include an antidote, for use when the affair has become tiresome. Incidentally, I gathered that they may, sometimes, attract the wrong woman.

Both the two most powerful magical substances known to these 832
natives, *sisiwa* and *magor* (see pp. 474–6), are employed in love- 824
magic, and also a vast array of plants, many having aromatic properties which are doubtless the cause of their being selected.

Sisiwa is used in the following manner:

> To make a woman love you, get some leaves of the plant *rarakot* and powder some *sisiwa* on to them. Rub the two together and smear the mixture on to a piece of tobacco which you then give to the woman whom you desire. Then take a little more *sisiwa* and make it hot over the fire. As she smokes the tobacco, and as the *sisiwa* gets hot, so she will become warmed towards you, and the next day she will come to you. She will be hot with desire for you, and you will copulate and copulate and copulate. When you are tired of her, and want the affair to come to an end, take a little *sisiwa* and put it into water, her passion will then be cooled.

Sisiwa may also be used to take revenge on a woman who refuses 789
you her favours.

> If you are angry with a woman because she will not have intercourse with you, powder a little *sisiwa* into the palm of your hand, get some food belonging to the woman, or some of her pepper-stick or areca-nut, sprinkle the powder on it, and give it to her to eat. On some pretext get a piece of it back from her, put a little more powder on it, and throw it into the fire. Then the woman will have sores come out on her skin. If she will not give you the piece back, you cannot make this medicine.

Magor is used thus: 832

> To make a woman love you, chew some *magor* with the betel-mixture, 824
> remaining silent the while. Spit out the mixture in the direction of the woman you want while you are both dancing. She will then come and take hold of you, and will desire you.

This was the medicine made by Pinari to obtain the affection of Gomar, and by Pasab for Erut.

Another, more elaborate method, invokes the aid of the *urar* 832
(spirits of the dead).

> If you wish to make a woman desire you, you can make this medicine.

832 The morning you intend to do this you must not have had sexual intercourse with anybody the night before. You must not defecate until after you have finished making the medicine. Both these are very strong taboos. You must not go with all the other men to the beach when they get up. You must get up alone, at dawn, when all the other people are still asleep. Take some *magor* with you into the bush, cut a piece of the [824] stem of the creeper *karavetan* (a parasitic plant with a thick juicy stem, unidentified). Hang it up on a tree. Clean it well with your knife. Get ready to call out the name of the woman you want. Cut the piece of stem in two with your knife, with one sharp stroke, at the same time calling out quickly the name of the woman. Then rub *magor* on the cut end and drink the sap that runs out, mixed with the *magor*. Then spit it out, and say:

> '*Kuvian sen its imoin me mon owa, ne en ton rēs wē ma ia ini pio.*'
> 'Kuvian' (the name of the *urar*), 'you copulate first with this woman and then you bring her and give her to me.'

You must not go straight to the woman, but wait for a time when all the people have gone to the bush to work. When you want to go to her, take a leaf of *karavetan* and heat it in the fire, then press it on your eyes. Then take the leaf and hang it up in your hut, in the rafters over your bed. As the leaf withers, the woman will think of you, and then when she sees you she will desire you.

This is a very secret thing. It must not be told to every one. Most [437] people do not know it. If I wish I can tell it to a member of my own 424 clan. If men of another clan wish to know it, they pay very highly for it, with *beroan* and paint and axes and knives.

Another form of magic was given to the man who told it to me, by his own particular *urar*, Butchiar, in a dream. He said he had tried it on a certain woman, and it worked very well. He asked me not to tell it to any of his own people, or to let them know that he had given it to me.

First call on the *urar* Butchiar, and say these words:

> '*Butchiar tar na pi mon arawa, rēs ka ma ne, rēs me mon, io maŋin no ia.*'
> 'Butchiar, look at that woman there, bring her, bring the woman, I want her.'

Then watch till you see the woman eating. As she takes a mouthful, say: '*Kalat!*' As she chews, say: '*Dami!*' As she swallows, say: '*Kunom!*' (The man could give no meaning for these words, he said he got them from the *urar*.) This talk will turn the woman's belly to you, and she will think about you. She will ask you for water, but you must not give her any, you must run away from her.

When she goes to sleep the next night she will see you, and will think you want her to get up. In the morning she will say to you: 'Oh, I could not sleep last night, I saw you standing up in front of me, I can't think of my husband any more, I think about you only. I think you gave me some medicine?' You must say: 'No, I did not go near you, I did not run about in the night.' She will say: 'Never mind, I want to leave my husband now, I like you too much.' 832

If you want the affair to finish, you take two plants, *rakot* and *rurupari*. [824] Squeeze the leaf of *rurupari* with some water and give it to the woman to drink, and make her eat some of the stem of *rakot*. Then she will sleep well at night and will not think of you any more. But if she likes you very much she may refuse to take this medicine, and then you can do nothing.

Many of these 'prescriptions' are carried out without invoking the help of the *urar*. The methods vary. Some typical ones run as follows:

Take some leaves of the plant *waruyon* (unidentified) and squeeze [824] them together in your hand. Ask the woman you want to give you some water, this she will bring in a coco-nut shell. Put the squeezed leaves into the coco-nut shell, and drink the water. Then scrape off the skin of the long root of the same plant and chew it with the betel-mixture. Throw away part of the skin in the place where the woman is. This you must do when no one is looking. Swallow some of the chewed mixture. Next time there is a dance, take a piece of the root and put it in your hair. Then go and dance before the other men start. The woman will come and dance too. When you stop, she will stop too. The next day she will say to you: 'What have you been doing to me?' You must answer: 'Nothing.' She will say: 'Oh, I like you so much. Let us have intercourse.' So the two of you will go to the bush, and you will have intercourse with her, and by and by she will have a child, and then you two will be married.

Take a drinking coco-nut (*mayur*) and a dry coco-nut (*makas*). Scrape [824] the meat of both, and mix the scrapings together. This mixture is called *kariur*. Take the leaf-buds of *nik* (the betel-pepper) and wrap them up in leaves. Make the bundle hot. Go to the beach, dip the hot bundle in the sea, and rub it over your body. Chew some of the *nik* leaves. Climb a tree, and fix a package of *kariur* to the branches. As the wind rustles in the tree the woman will desire you.

When you go to a dance, first get some of the roots of the tree *wapindi* [824] and chew them. Light a torch (made of coco-nut palm leaves) and spit the chewed roots on to it. Lay another piece of root on top of the burning torch and let the two burn together. [372] When you see the woman you want, throw the torch towards her. If she takes it and warms herself

832 with it, she will warm towards you, and will go and wait for you in the bush, you will go after her and have intercourse with her.

Some of these 'medicines' are directed towards the very practical end of making the person attractive. They frequently take the form of a package wrapped up in a leaf, containing a mixture of bits of dried leaves, sticks, bark, &c., to be soaked in coco-nut oil before use, and intended to be rubbed on the skin before meeting with the object of one's affections. Some of them may be used by either sex to attract the other, but one, a sample of which was brought to me in great secrecy, was accompanied by the information that it was taboo for women to see this preparation. Another form of magic which may be used by both sexes, is to wrap up the leaves of any one of certain plants, most of which possess aromatic properties, in the form of a cigar, which is given to the coveted partner; as it is smoked, desire is engendered. [435] One man told me he paid 10*s.* (in our money) to the mountain people for a mixture to make a woman want to marry him. He did not know what was in it, but was told to chew it before he went to the woman.

789 The use of *sisiwa* 'to spite a woman who refuses her favours' has already been mentioned. Another method of taking revenge is as follows:

> ● [824] If the woman you want goes to another man, chew the root of *sisiŋ* (a species of croton) with the betel-mixture, spit some of the mixture on to your toe, and kick the woman. Then spit some more on to a *sisiŋ* leaf and strike the woman with it, then bury it under a fire. The effect of this will be to make the woman menstruate all the time, so that your rival cannot enjoy her.

832 A curious way of taking revenge upon a woman for the misdeeds of her brother, the only 'prescription' of its kind in my collection, is directed against a man who has seduced the sister of the individual who uses it. It comes from Petats.

> [824] Go to the bush and break off a joint of the stem of the plant *ŋgalaŋgala* (Petats dialect), at the same time calling the name of the woman, and saying:
>
> '*Tor i mulo takots nan.*' ('May your belly be no good.')
>
> Call your own name also. Then take the bit of stem and fasten it over your bed, where the wind will catch it and make it rustle. This will cause a rumbling in the woman's belly. At night you must get up and clap your hands, turning towards this piece of stem. At that moment the woman will wake up and feel ill, and will think of you. In the morning

presence of this idea. My attention was first drawn to it by watching 842 a man castrate a young European pig he had just purchased from a trader. Knowing that European pigs are greatly prized, I asked him why he did not leave the pig alone so that he could 842 mate it with his sow. (Pigs of mixed origin are counted as European 232 pigs.) His reply was that what he was doing would not interfere [435] with that at all, he would get European pigs from his sow just the same, because he only cut away the testicles (*orn*) and not the penis (*utſin*). To emphasize his point he reminded me that all the young males among the village pigs were castrated, but that the sows continued to produce young. There are plenty of wild pigs in the bush who have free access to the domestic sows, but this explanation was not accepted when I offered it.[1] The belief in the sufficiency of penetration was then stated, and further conversation elicited the fact that it was considered to apply also in the case of human beings.

Given this idea, it is not such a very far cry to the further belief 842 that conception can take place without the co-operation of the male, and there is no doubt that this also is held. The legend, 824 widespread over this area, which traces the origin of all the people from the two sons of an old woman who impregnated herself by means of a banana, is literally believed. It is admitted that this story belongs to times long past, but in a discussion arising out of its narration the opinion was expressed among the audience that it was still possible for a woman to conceive by means of a banana, and the same thing was asserted by an altogether different informant on another occasion, when we were discussing ceremonies and taboos associated with birth. The connexion between bananas [881] and child-bearing appears again in the ceremony for a girl's first menstruation, when the girl climbs a banana palm of a species [262] whose fruit may never be eaten by children, or by boys wearing the *upi* (see p. 254). In discussing certain prohibitions connected with the planting and eating of bananas in the south-eastern 842 Solomons, Ivens suggests that this plant may in the past have 824 possessed a sacred character, and supports his suggestion by citing parallels from other peoples. He need not have gone as far afield 171

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[1] Malinowski records a similar experience (1929, p. 162). The reason given to me, on more than one occasion, for the practice of castrating the domestic pigs, is that it prevents them from becoming wild and running away into the bush, and that if they should do so, it enables the hunters who might catch them in their nets to recognise them as somebody's property and let them go.

842 as the Baganda of Africa for an instance of the belief 'that bananas
824 have power to effect fertility in women and of themselves cause
171 pregnancy' (1927, p. 272).

Belief in the possibility of conception without intercourse is
842 explicitly stated in the following 'prescription', which was given
824 to me, with a specimen of the plant named *kɔ̄* (this has not been
789 identified), in the course of an investigation into the uses of plants
as 'medicines', entirely apart from any discussion on child-bearing,
a circumstance which, in my opinion, increases its value as evidence.

> If you have a grudge against a woman for refusing you her favours,
> take the bud at the top of a sprig of *kɔ̄*, and put it below the door at the
> [845] *babots* (women's entrance) of her hut. When she has passed over it she
> will bear twins, even if she does not have intercourse with a man.

842 There seems to be sufficient evidence to justify the statement
that, on the north coast of Bougainville, belief in the possibility of
171 impregnation without intercourse occurs among a people who are
acquainted with physiological paternity. The words used by F. E. Williams in describing a somewhat similar state of affairs among the natives of the Morehead River, Papua, so exactly express my own view, that I cannot refrain from quoting them: 'I think we cannot escape the conclusion that these two theories . . . exist together, and that the second is generally accepted and overlies the first; but that the native, despite the inconsistency of the two theories, can at different times express a sincere belief in each of them' (1933, No. 128).

CONTRACEPTIVES

842 Recognition of physical paternity is clearly implied in the widespread use of 'medicines' to prevent conception. This knowledge is common to both sexes, and the practice is freely discussed. The 'medicines' are employed chiefly to avoid complications in the course of clandestine amours. Their use by married couples is rare, children being much desired. But one man told me that he had given one of them to his wife after the birth of their sixth child, saying that their family was now large enough.

842 A number of different plants are used for this purpose. One of
824 the most widely known, judging from the fact that it was given
me by three independent informants, from the three villages of
Kurtatchi, Tabut, and Baniu, is the fern called in the Kurtatchi
dialect *asam* (*Lygodium dichotomum* Sw.). The Petats people call

it *aisam*, and do not, so far as I know, use it as a contraceptive, but 842
regard it as of virtue in fishing magic (see p. 350). It has a very 824
tough stem, the outer skin of which is used throughout the whole [283]
area as a fastening, particularly in the making of canoes. For use as a contraceptive, the procedure is as follows:

> The woman takes a piece of the root of *asam* and chews it with the betel-mixture. Some of the mixture must be swallowed. Some of it she spits out into the palm of her hand, and with it massages her abdomen thoroughly. The piece of root which remains over must be hung up in the rafters of the hut, where the smoke from the fire will reach it, and left there. As the smoke hardens the root, the woman's belly 'becomes fast', so that she cannot conceive. If it is desired that the sterility be permanent, after the *asam* root has been thoroughly smoked, it is taken down from the rafters and buried. She will then never be able to have any more children. But if it is desired to have a child later, the root is left up in the rafters until such a time as the woman wishes to conceive; it is then taken down and thrown away into swiftly running water, or into the sea. As the current carries it away, 'her belly opens again' so that she can conceive.

One of the three informants—incidentally, all three were men—from whom I obtained this 'prescription' was not aware of any means by which the effect could be counteracted, otherwise the three accounts were similar. Another added that it was sometimes given to a woman by her husband prior to his departure for a long period, and that on his return he would throw away the *asam* that he had left in the rafters, thus removing the bar to conception.
A man who gives this medicine to a woman must not go fishing [226]
for *makō* (a small fish, something like a mullet, caught on the open reef) for one or two days afterwards, or the medicine will not work.

Three other plants credited by the people of North Bougainville with contraceptive properties are used in similar fashion:

Peparas (*Vitex Lagundi*).

> Scrape the roots and chew the scrapings with the betel-mixture. The solid part of the mixture must be swallowed, the saliva is spat out on to the hand and rubbed over the abdomen. The rest of the root is then put up in the rafters to harden in the smoke. As the smoke hardens the root, 'the woman's belly dries up', so that she cannot conceive.

[illegible] (a tree, unidentified).

> The leaves of this tree must be rubbed well between the hands, water is poured over them and mixed with the sap thus squeezed out. The

842 woman drinks this water and sap, she then chews bits of the root with
the betel-mixture, spits it out, and rubs it over her abdomen. None
●824 is swallowed.

Win (*Licuala*, a small fan palm).

Take a piece of the root of this tree, and split it in two lengthwise. Give half to the woman and keep the other half for yourself. Both must chew and swallow the outer part, or 'skin' of the root. Take the inside part of both halves back home with you and put it up in the rafters of the hut where it will be hardened by the smoke. If, later on, it is desired that the woman should conceive, take down these pieces of root from the rafters and throw them into the sea. If they are burnt, she will never be able to have children afterwards.

The man who gave me the last of these 'prescriptions' added that he himself always used it when he wanted to 'steal' a woman in the bush.

The Petats people make use of the root of a small tree called in their dialect *hahōlon*, which the authorities at Kew Gardens identified from my sample as a species of *Mallotus*.[1] Scrapings from the root are chewed with the betel-mixture, and must be swallowed. The root from which the scrapings were taken is kept in the woman's hut. If at a later time children are desired, it is taken out and put in a place where there is running water. If it be burnt, the woman cannot conceive again. My informant added that if an unmarried girl (there were a few at Petats) wishes to cohabit she uses this medicine.

The following account of contraceptive procedure as practised on the neighbouring island of Pororan was given to me by Mr. Gordon Thomas, to whom I am indebted for permission to publish it, and also for a sample of the leaves and roots of the tree concerned, which unfortunately could not be identified. It is not the same as the *hahōlon* tree used on Petats.

'When a woman is desirous of becoming permanently barren she is given the root of the *malaŋal* tree, from which she scrapes off the outside skin and eats it, throwing the inside root on to a fire, which must be at her back. This process is repeated after a pause of four or five days, such repetition to be made four times. The

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[1] The capsules of *Mallotus philippensis* furnish the red powder called in India *kamala*, and used there to produce a red dye. *Kamala* is also used as a vermifuge, especially for the expulsion of taenia. The powder may be obtained from other parts of the plant also. It can be crystallized in ether, its composition is $C_{22}H_{20}O_6$. See Maiden, 1889, pp. 192, 298.

time usually chosen for the administering of this root is shortly 842
after child-birth, before she has had intercourse with any man since
the birth. Sometimes the medicine is given to a young girl before 824
she has reached the age of puberty. When this is done she will always remain barren. There is no cessation of the menses when barrenness is brought about. Should a woman wish for only temporary barrenness, then after eating the outside skin of the root she will retain carefully the inside root, and at the time when she is desirous of bearing children again, she will place the root in a pool of water where there are tadpoles. These little creatures will fasten themselves to the root and feed from it. After a short while, she will become fertile. Should, however, fecundity not return after the tadpoles have sucked the inner root, then another medicine to bring on fertility is used.'

It will be noted that stress is laid, in most of these 'prescriptions', on the keeping of the root in the rafters where it is exposed to smoke—'as the smoke hardens the root, so the woman's belly becomes fast'—that is, it works by virtue of what we are accustomed to call 'sympathetic magic'. But sometimes the 'medicine', when chewed with the betel-mixture, is also swallowed, so it is not inconceivable that some of these 'medicines' may have the power of acting upon the body in some way which might diminish the chances of fertilization. Many plants used as medicines in Australia and India, some of which are irritant poisons, are known to be efficacious in restoring a scanty or absent menstrual flux. Whether there is any active principle in the Melanesian contraceptives could only be determined by analysis, and unfortunately the specimens I brought home were not of sufficient bulk to permit of this. Their effectiveness is firmly believed in by all. Their use was frequently cited in discussion, as an explanation of the recognized fact that clandestine unions do not lead to pregnancy as often as might be expected. Mention of childless marriages, when they came into the genealogies, was often followed by the volunteered remark that the woman had taken a contraceptive medicine. In some of the marriages personally known to me the woman herself accounted for her barrenness in this way. I may cite one of these as an example.

Matarɛ and his wife Marotɛ seem to be a very well-matched 842
couple. They live together amicably, and work together most of the time. They always seem to be on good terms. Both are more

for granted, so much so that most informants could give no explanation of it at all. 842 It is considered to be the individual's private concern, no strong public feeling being involved. Although most people will say it is a good thing to have children, it is apparently not anti-social to abstain from doing so. A woman who desires children in vain is pitied, and those who know of remedies for her condition will offer them, but no stigma rests upon a barren woman. [586] It is noteworthy in this connexion that sterility is not included among the causes of divorce (see p. 110). A man who wants children can take another wife, the woman is still useful to him if she works hard and looks after him well. A childless marriage seems to be regarded as unfortunate but not morally reprehensible, while intrigues are condoned unless they result in pregnancy. [769] Religious motives for rearing a family are lacking, since the *urar* (spirits of the dead) are not worshipped by their descendants. Attention is paid to them when it is desired to obtain their help or to ward off their anger, but this is not necessarily the concern of their direct descendants. There are thus no powerful sanctions, social, moral, or religious, to counter the urge, be it grief, expediency, or any other motive, leading a woman to take steps whereby she believes herself to be rendered permanently incapable of bearing children.

MEDICINES FACILITATING CONCEPTION

When a woman who wants a child fails to become pregnant, she 842
may have recourse to several 'medicines' thought to facilitate con- 824 ●
ception, among which are the following:

Sip (*Euphorbia hirta*).

Take a number of plants, pick off the tiny flowers (which grow in bunches close to the stalk), and push them into a hole made in a cooked taro. The woman must eat the taro, and will then be able to conceive, even if she has previously taken one of the contraceptive medicines.

Euphorbia hirta, the 'asthma herb', is used in Australia in certain pulmonary complaints (Maiden, 1889, p. 183), and there is an account in a Dutch medical work dated 1658 of its efficacy as an antidote to snake-bite, in which it is stated that 'a pinch of the dried powder, taken in some convenient menstruum, excites the heart and arouses the vital forces depressed by the poison'. Dr. Marsset of Paris, who made a study of the plant in 1885, says it seems to

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824
act directly on the respiratory and cardiac centres. (See Maiden, p. 183.) There would seem to be just a possibility, in view of this, that some tonic effect might be produced by eating the flowers, or even, considering the result of recent research on Vitamin E, that these 'medicines' might really tend to assist in producing conditions favourable to conception. But it is quite unnecessary to postulate any actual effect to account for the native belief in their efficacy.

A second remedy for barrenness makes use of another plant in similar fashion:

> Take the seeds of the plant called *totſapõ* and boil them with some taro leaves for a long time; this mixture must then be eaten by the woman.

Another method of using the same plant was given me by a visitor to the village:

> Take the seed-vessels of the plant *wapotok* (this is its name in another dialect, the samples brought to me being identical), rub them between your hands till the seeds fall out, put these into water and give it to the woman to drink.

This plant is a variety of Cape Gooseberry (*Physalis angulata*). The seed-vessel inside the 'lantern', about the size of a large pea, contains enormous numbers of minute seeds. It seems in accordance with native methods of reasoning to suggest that it is the numbers of these seeds, and the numbers of tiny florets which are characteristic of *Euphorbia hirta*, which have caused these two plants to be associated with the production of fertility in women. This would apply also to a third 'prescription', where all possibility of any medicinal effect is ruled out:

> If a man wants a child and his wife does not become pregnant, he takes a quantity of the spores from the back of the fern called *kukuis*, and gives them to some of the other women of the village, who put them into his wife's pack as they go to work. When she comes back he cohabits with her, and she will become pregnant. This can be used for a woman who has taken contraceptive medicine, because it is stronger than the medicine which fastens her belly.

The fern *kukuis* could not be identified, but it is a variety which is very richly supplied with spores.

The plants used in two further methods for ensuring pregnancy are also unidentifiable: their use is as follows:

> Take the leaves of the small plant *tiwapowo*, rub them between the hands, mix with water, and let the woman drink. Can be used by a woman who has previously taken a contraceptive.

Take portions of the roots of the tree called *wagag* (a small palm resembling an areca-palm, possibly another variety, but the nuts are not normally used for chewing). Scrape bits off these roots, and let the woman chew them with the betel-mixture, taking care to swallow some of it. 842 824

It is understood that a woman may be sterile without having taken a contraceptive. In the course of giving genealogies informants would sometimes remark, speaking of a childless marriage: 'This woman was not able to have children.' They clearly make a distinction, in talking about persons known to them, between this state of affairs and one in which 'the woman's belly was fast' because she had taken one of the medicines. There was no suggestion that the fault might lie with the male, provided that he was capable of performing the act of coitus. 842

In this connexion it may be added that I gathered from Government officials and missionaries with some medical training that there is very little venereal disease in this area. Such information as I received from the natives corroborates this. 164

PREGNANCY

Pregnancy is suspected after the omission of one menstrual period, unless the woman has been taking one of the numerous medicines (described on p. 269) which are supposed to control or inhibit the flow, in which case she will wait awhile before accepting the fact of pregnancy. They do not keep any tally of the time, and their only means of judging when to expect the birth is by the appearance of the abdomen and breasts. 843 [805]

There is no ceremony such as takes place among the Trobrianders (Malinowski, 1929, p. 184) or the people of New Ireland (Powdermaker, 1933, p. 60), when a woman first discovers that she is pregnant. In the olden days she used to make a belt of a special creeper called *inus*, and to wear hanging from the front of it leaves of a particular plant (*nai'iar*). As every one now wears a loin-cloth, this practice is falling into disuse, though some women wear the belt and the appropriate leaves on the top of the loin-cloth. 292 824 177

CEREMONY FOR PREGNANT WOMAN

Towards the end of the pregnancy a ceremony is performed with the object of ensuring easy delivery. The only estimate of

woman when she goes to wash. As it is thrown into the sea and 843
carried away by the current, all the women call out: 782

Som si mĕ	*mon*	*ta bai'i*	*ta dum tsūn.*
Give	woman	child	good very

No names are mentioned, but it is understood that it is the *urar* who are called upon. Then the woman puts on a girdle made of 843 the black outside layer of the trunk of the bush banana, and fixes some leaves of the plant called *ɔts* into it in front, so that they hang 292 down over her genitals. This plant is one which is always planted 824 ● in the taro garden in order to ensure a good crop. She must continue to wear this belt until the second part of the pregnancy ceremony has been performed.

When her mother thinks that the time has come for this, which 843 she estimates by noticing the pregnant woman's bodily condition, she takes a certain black stone, washes it carefully, and decorates 823 it with streaks of black and red paint. With the stone she makes passes round the woman's body, touching the skin, and then rubs it on her abdomen, pressing downwards. As she is being rubbed, the pregnant woman must say: 'I want a good child who will be born easily.' Then the child that is in the stone comes out and passes into the woman and helps the real child to be born. The stone is put back into the hut, carefully wrapped up in fibre, to be kept till it is wanted again for the same purpose. The woman takes off her girdle and has her hair cut short over the rest of her head, where it was not cut on the previous occasion. If she has come to her mother's village specially for this ceremony she may now go back to her husband's people. There is no feast at this part of the proceedings.

The black stones used for rubbing the pregnant woman's abdomen are much prized. With great difficulty I succeeded in obtaining one which had been used for the wife of the man who gave it to me; he said she would not have any more children so she would not want it again. It is of a volcanic nature, a species of diorite. It measures 4½×2 in., is oval in shape, and water-worn. It was probably obtained from the bed of one of the rivers which flow from the volcanic interior of the island, and must have come from some distance, because there is no stone of that nature anywhere near the village.

The young woman for whom I saw this ceremony performed 843
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The five women present took turn about at holding her. The 844 woman sitting behind her changed quite frequently. It must actually have been very tiring to maintain that position and keep up the pressure on her back. The other women sat or lay on the plank-beds in the hut, playing with the babies, or suckling them, chatting or dozing. This went on for five or six hours. Once in the course of this time there was an escape of fluid from the vagina, but very little in quantity.

Eventually the women became concerned that things were not progressing more quickly. There were whispers of 'a big child'. Then one of the women burrowed in the ground under the door (which was kept closed all the time and propped shut with a stick), and disinterred a coco-nut, still in its outer sheath. She took a knife and made several slashes in the coco-nut, without removing it from its sheath, and then threw it away into a corner of the hut. I could not make inquiries about this at the time, but Patchip 843 subsequently gave me the following information. He had climbed 824 a coco-nut tree while the pregnancy was still at an early stage, before the enlargement of the abdomen had become very noticeable, and had cut off two green coco-nuts. These he must not throw down on to the ground, as is done when coco-nuts are cut for ordinary drinking purposes, but he had to carry one in his hand and the other in his teeth as he climbed down. They were brought into the house, and their tops were cut off. Then he got some leaves of the tree called *wagag* (the same as that used in one of the prescriptions for barrenness), split off the midrib and broke it open. Taking out the pith from the split stem, he placed this pith in a fold of the leaf, making a kind of funnel. Some drinking-water was then poured through this funnel, passing through the pith as through a filter, into the coco-nuts, mixing with their own milk. The leaf of *wagag* must be thrown away into the sea immediately after being thus used, and the current must take it away. One of the coco-nuts was then heated in the fire, and the expectant mother drank the contents. The other was buried under the floor at the threshold of the hut in which she intended to be confined, and this was the one which was taken up and slashed during the course of her labour. This is done in order to hasten delivery. The object of burying it so carefully beforehand under 844 the threshold is to prevent any one from making 'bad medicine' against the expectant mother so that she would die in child-

844 birth. After the child is born the coco-nut is thrown away into the bush.

A short time after the episode of the coco-nut, Bunamon, one of
844 the older women present, said they must give her some medicine.
●824 One of the women went out, and presently returned with some fresh leaves from the trees called *ramian* and *reyto*. These Bunamon rolled in her hand, and squeezed the sap into half a coco-nut shell, finally dropping the leaves in also. A little water was added, and the coco-nut shell was given to Manĕv, who drank the liquid
[276] it contained. Bunamon then chewed portions of the roots of the same plants with the betel-mixture, but using the leaves of the betel-pepper, not the fruit, which is more commonly used for chewing with areca-nut by these natives. She spat the resulting red saliva on to her hand and rubbed Manĕv's abdomen with it, with a circular motion, all round the edge of the tumid belly. Then she rubbed some on her own big toe and applied the toe to Manev's vulva. Finally, she spat the solid remnant of the chewed mixture into the palm of her hand and put it into Manĕv's mouth, telling her she must swallow it, which she did with evident effort.

844 Then another four or five hours passed, the women still holding Manĕv as previously described. She appeared to be in great distress, and called out repeatedly: '*Atsat pio, atsat tagala!*' ('Woe is me', in the two dialects current in this village.) Once she called for her husband. No notice was taken by the women of any of her cries.

Once in a while the woman kneeling behind moved her clasping hands from the top of the protuberant abdomen to the bottom and shook it violently. This caused fresh cries and groans. Tears were streaming down Manĕv's face, she begged continually to be let alone and to be allowed to lie down. Once they let her lie on the ground for a minute or two, and once they helped her to her feet, and she stood for a few seconds, supported by two women. But most of the time she sat on the log, with knees drawn up and pressed wide apart.

Towards morning they all came and sat in front of her, anxiously watching for the first sight of the child. As soon as the first glimmer of daylight appeared through the chinks in the walls of the hut, they put out the hurricane lantern I had brought with me, which up till then had faintly illumined the scene, so that when the top of the child's head at last appeared it was distinguished with diffi-

844 digging a hole near the inner side wall of the hut. Into this she threw the afterbirth. The piece of areca-palm fibre on which it had been thrown after the cord was cut was then washed, and the water allowed to drip into the hole. Manĕv then stood astride the hole, and water was poured over her, so that the blood from her genitals was washed into the hole. She then filled in the hole, and stood by watching what was being done to the child. After the water had been poured over it the grandmother handed the baby to its mother, who put it to her breast. It made an attempt to suck, but after a minute or two Sanasi took it away again, and renewed her attempts to make it cry, which it did still rather feebly.

844 Manĕv then took the log she had been sitting on during the labour, and heated it in the fire without letting it burn. Then she
●824 applied it to her vulva, which was still bleeding. Presently she was given a handful of the large leaves of two plants, called *kō* and *wapatsūn*, which she held one by one in the smoke of the fire until they were hot, and then pressed to her abdomen. This was done to make the blood run out quickly and stop the pain. Then she lay down on a plank-bed near the fire.

The grandmother moulded the child's head with the palm of her hand, either bare or holding a heated leaf flat against her palm, which she pressed against the child's head. The back and sides of the head were pressed gently upwards, and the same kind of pressure was then given to the forehead. The nose was pinched to give it a bridge, and the cheeks pushed in. Eventually the child was laid on a woman's hood on the plank-bed beside its mother. It was soon suckling freely. It was given wads of taro, chewed first by its mother, on the same day.

142 It was a male child, and quite large. Its skin was of a colour difficult to describe, like a sallow white person's with a tinge of purple. The hut was too dark to take a 'colour top' reading. The nipples were much darker than the surrounding area, and were nearly black, as were also its penis and scrotum. There was no 'blue spot'. The hair was fairly thick, but not so thick as that of other children I saw at birth, neither was it so black. Its ends had a tendency to curl.

846 Mother and child spent the rest of that day, and the next three days, inside the hut, lying most of the time on the plank-bed near the fire. Patchip, the child's father, was not allowed to see his son for the first three days. He was obliged to remain in seclusion in

the other hut, and was forbidden to do any work and especially 846
strictly forbidden to handle a knife, axe, or other sharp instrument. If he did so, it is thought that the child would die. This prohibition applies to the mother also. Further, neither father nor mother might wash themselves, nor eat pig, fish, or opossum, which means that they were confined to a vegetarian diet. Patchip's mother cooked the food for them both.

On the morning of the fourth day (Aug. 29), Patchip took some 824 ●
leaves of the plant called *maŋiŋir*, a green leaf and a dry one, rubbed
them in his hands, and squeezed them into a *kapi* shell. A little 846
water was added, and taking the shell he went into the hut to make the acquaintance of his first-born, and to give him this 'medicine' to make him grow strong. He held the shell to the child's mouth. Afterwards, the leaves were carefully thrown away into the bush, but the shell which had been used to hold the mixture was carefully preserved in the hut. Medicine and other liquids will be given to the child in it during babyhood.

Patchip was anxious to perform on this day the ceremony re- 846
moving the taboos under which he laboured, but the old women of the village said it was too soon, and persuaded him to defer it for a little while longer. He might now walk about the village, but no farther.

On the fifth day the child was washed in fresh water inside the hut. Its umbilical cord came off, and was preserved in a coco-nut shell containing lime for chewing with areca-nut, where it will remain until the child is grown up. The father and mother both went and washed in the sea. The child was not yet allowed to be taken outside the hut.

On the morning of the sixth day Patchip went into the hut carrying a large bush knife. With this he made several slashes at the child as it lay in its mother's arms, pretending to cut its head, limbs, and abdomen. This removed the taboo on holding a sharp instrument, and Patchip was then free to go to work, his period of couvade being over. Manēv was also allowed to go to the taro garden, but did not do so that day.

After this mother and child took up the ordinary course of their lives. The child was thriving when I left five weeks later.

A NATIVE WOMAN'S DESCRIPTION OF A BIRTH

The Kurtatchi women followed the course of Manēv's pregnancy 844
with great interest, asking eagerly for details of its progress when 124

845 the vagina during delivery and manipulate a mal-presentation—'suppose the leg came first', was the example spontaneously given to me. She used to chew some leaves with the betel-mixture and rub them on her hand before inserting it. My informant, a younger woman, did not know what these leaves were. She said that very few women knew how to do this; when it was done the child usually died but the mother got better, otherwise both child and mother died. Matĕv, whose statement apparently refers to cases where there was reason to suspect that the child was already dead *in utero*, told me subsequently, in answer to a question, that she had never helped to deliver in this manner a child that was born alive.

163 It is quite impossible to obtain from the natives data sufficiently accurate to admit of calculating the relative frequency of death in child-birth. Several instances occur in my genealogies, but the possibility of errors of omission in that type of material is so great that I do not feel justified in using it for statistical purposes in this connexion.

844 Excessive bleeding appears to be very common. The women
dread it, and there are many prescriptions for its prevention and
● 824 control. The only one involving plants which could be identified runs as follows:

> Take the root of *bariur* (*Crinum asiaticum*) and the bark of *karū* (*Barringtonia* sp.) and pound them together. Put the pulp into a pot and pour sea-water over it. Heat some stones and throw them into the pot. The woman must sit over the pot so that the steam reaches her genitals. She must also drink some of the water. Then her blood will dry up and she will be all right and will not be ill.

Of the others, some are used in similar fashion, in other cases the leaves are made hot and pressed on the lower part of the abdomen, or are chewed with the betel-mixture, some being swallowed, and the abdomen massaged with the remainder.

163 Miscarriages seem to be frequent, and still-births by no means
164 rare. In discussing this question with Government medical officers it was suggested that the prevalence of malaria was probably at least in part responsible for this.

844 On the other side of the picture, there are, of course, many confinements where delivery is quick and easy. Another woman of Tabut, who had promised that I should be present at her labour, gave birth to her child before it was expected, and so quickly that no one in the village was called or knew anything about it till the

next morning. This was her third confinement, and in discussing it the women told me that she was a woman who 'knew how to have children'. 844

In the course of many talks on these matters, with both men and women, I obtained further information, supplementary to that which I was able to gather from personal observation, bearing on various aspects of pregnancy and child-birth. The following paragraphs summarize the data thus collected. In many cases the statements were made more than once, by different people, and often in different villages.

PREPARATIONS FOR DELIVERY

Of all the medicines in my collection intended for use in connexion with child-birth, only one is given to the mother before labour actually begins. It is said to ensure easy delivery, but no explanation was forthcoming as to how this was achieved. 844 824

Manijar (a sweet-scented plant of the *Cymbopogon* species, similar to that used in India for making citronella oil).

Take a dry leaf that has fallen to the ground. Powder it between the hands and put it into a coco-nut shell. Pour in a little water, and make the woman drink it when she feels that the time of birth is near. Put the coco-nut in the house. Next day add a little more water and make her drink again. Twice is enough.

No special preparations are made for confinement, except the provision of a log for the parturient to sit on, and a piece of banana fibre or an areca-palm sheath (*kōbū*) on to which the child is expelled at birth.

There are no professional midwives. There is usually at least one woman in a village who makes a point of being present at every birth that takes place there, but this appears to be of her own accord and not by invitation. Some women have a reputation of being more skilful in handling the situation than others, and these may be sent for if difficulties arise, but usually some relative of the expectant mother or of her husband takes the lead, assisted by any women who care to come in. Young women who have not yet borne a child ought not to witness a difficult labour, lest their own first pregnancy should thereby be rendered correspondingly difficult. 844

No men are permitted to enter the hut in which the woman is confined, from the time the pains begin. The husband may not

844 enter it for three days after the birth of the child, and other men only after he has done so. But the latter part of this prohibition is not always strictly observed.

844 There are a number of medicines which are used to hasten a
delivery if the women who are watching think it is unduly pro-
● 824 tracted. The following is typical:

Pupūna (*Pteris tripartita* Sw.)

Take some of the leaves, heat them, and rub them on the woman's abdomen. Squeeze the sap into water and give it to her to drink.

The use of other plants for the same purpose has been described in the account of the birth of Manēv's child. One more may be mentioned because it seems to be comparable with our use of an anodyne:

Wanōnō (*Erythrina*, 'the coral tree').

When the woman feels that the pains are very severe, rub the leaves between your hands, mix them with water, and give the water to her to drink; it will lessen the pain.

A number of other plants which may be given to facilitate delivery could not be identified from my specimens. They are used in similar fashion to those above described, or in some cases are chewed with the betel-mixture and rubbed on the woman's abdo-
[787 men. To the account of the use of one of these my informant
845] added: 'If when the plant is pulled up it is found to have a forked
root, the woman is carrying twins.'

RESTRICTIONS ON SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

843 There is no taboo on sexual intercourse right up to the time of child-birth, but in practice it is discontinued towards the end of the pregnancy, though the husband may continue to occupy the same hut until the pains begin.

846 After the birth, intercourse with the mother is strictly interdicted.
The duration of this period of abstinence was described to me in
various ways: 'Until the child can run about.' 'Until the child
begins to talk.' The criterion most frequently cited was: 'Until
[164] the child has yaws.' This tropical skin disease falls to the lot of
every child, usually between one and two or three years of age.
I estimate that, in general, intercourse is not resumed until the
child is at least two years old. There is no taboo on the husband's

relations with other women, and since many men have more than one wife, and in any case opportunities for extra-marital intercourse 846 are not lacking, this custom, of such obvious benefit to the mother, does not impose continence upon the male. But the decline in polygamy now conduces to an increasing disregard of this rule.

Failing to observe the taboo is supposed to bring ill-health to the child. An obviously sickly baby will be taken as an indication [753] that its parents have been indulging in sexual intercourse during the prohibited period. Some do so in secret, and give the child a concoction of leaves to drink which is supposed to counteract the ill effects of the act. But in general, the women strongly resent any attempt on the part of their husbands to approach them during this prohibited period. A case occurred at Kurtatchi, some time before my arrival, of a man who divorced his wife for refusing him [586] access at a time she considered too soon after the birth of their child. The sentiment of the village was against him, and he never succeeded in obtaining another wife. The following story from my collection also illustrates this point. It was told me as typical of what used to happen in the olden days:

> There was a man whose wife had a child. The man asked his wife to go to the bush with him. The woman said: 'No, I don't want to.' The man said: 'Now come, you and I will have coitus in the bush.' The woman said: 'No, I don't want to, I am thinking of the child. I don't want the child to be hurt.' The man pressed her. He said: 'The child is not little, he is a big child now.' The woman said: 'No, I don't want people to laugh at me because my child is sickly.' The man was angry, he went alone to the bush, he climbed a *tſiniv* tree (tall slender tree from [824] the trunk of which dug-out canoes are made). He jumped down head-first, he fell to the ground, and his neck was broken and he died. The [762] woman went to look for her husband, she found him dead. She wailed, and said: 'Alas for my husband, he has killed himself. By and by I shall get another husband.'

It used to be looked upon as so impossible that the taboo on 846 exual intercourse should be broken, that if a woman became pregnant again during the prohibited period it was said that she 842 ad taken a banana and 'made the child come up' with it. 'Face-aving' seems to be popular with the Melanesian, but the method s interesting because of the belief, referred in an earlier part of his chapter, that penetration by means of a banana can cause regnancy.

CUSTOMS CONCERNING FOOD

843 During pregnancy a woman may not eat the megapode (*iowa*)
nor the fish called *turŏ*. Her husband should also observe this rule.
262 No reason was given for this taboo. The woman must also abstain
from a sea-creature called *awaian*, which is described as like a little
snake, and living among the stones in the sea. This taboo would
appear to have arisen for a reason like that which forbids a pregnant
Trobriand woman to eat certain kinds of fish: 'Just as it is difficult
to haul these fish out of their hiding-places, so the baby would not
easily be brought forth.' (Malinowski, 1929, p. 193.) A pregnant
843 woman must on no account eat a certain frog called *toktok*, which
262 frequents banana palms. It has unusually long legs, and it is
825 thought that if she eats it her child will have legs of abnormal
length.[1] Another kind of frog, *kakŏ́*, which lives in pools in the
bush, is specially recommended; if she eats it her child will be
large and the period of pregnancy pass easily.

844 While labour is in progress the husband must abstain from food
262 of any kind. The woman's mother, whether present at the confinement or not, must abstain from eating pig.

846 After the birth, for an indeterminate period ('while the baby is
very small'), the parents may not eat pig, fish, opossum, shell-fish,
262 or barringtonia fruit. Why the last-named should be included my
informants did not know. The effect of the other prohibitions is to
confine the parents to a vegetarian diet; this is thought to be of
[276] advantage to the child. The mother is subjected to further restric-
[824] tions. She must chew with her areca-nut only the leaf of the betel-
pepper, not touching the catkin-like fruit, which is much preferred
in the ordinary way. The reason given for this change is that the
fruit is stronger than the leaf, and might harm the mother's milk.
The nursing mother must also abstain from bananas and canarium
almonds. While awaiting Manĕv's confinement I was frequently
given presents of both these things, which I shared with the expectant
mother, to her great enjoyment, but her friend, Ema, who was
constantly with us, would never accept any, saying that she was
forbidden to eat them because she had a suckling child.

The mother's first meal after her confinement is the occasion of peculiar care. It consists of soup (*siro*), i.e. the water in which the

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[1] Little girls are taught by their mothers to avoid this creature. Any unmarried person who eats it will not find favour with the opposite sex.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

846 The reason given for this practice was that as the father had 'made the child come up', he was responsible, as well as the mother, for its well-being during birth and for the first few days of its life, and that these precautions were taken to ensure this. The death of a two-days'-old child at Kurtatchi was attributed by all to the fact that the father, a young man of 'advanced' views, had refused to keep the couvade rules. The custom is a clear acknowledgement [851] of responsibility for the child on the part of the father. There is [848] no couvade for a child born as the result of extra-marital intercourse.

TREATMENT OF NEW-BORN CHILD

844 The umbilical cord (*busō*) is never severed until the afterbirth ● 824 has been expelled. If the expulsion of the afterbirth is delayed over-long, the root of the plant *pupuna* is brought, and chewed with the betel-mixture, the resulting mass is spat out and rubbed on to the big toe of one of the assistant women. She then pushes with her toe on the abdomen of the parturient, at the level of her umbilicus. They say this loosens the placenta and causes it to be expelled.

844 The child is left lying, still attached to the placenta, on the piece of fibre on to which it was expelled, until it shows signs of life. All the women look on anxiously, but no one touches it as long as it remains motionless. It seems probable that this custom may sometimes lead to the death of a child who might have been saved had prompt measures been taken. As soon as the slightest movement is perceived the cord is cut. The mother herself, if she is able, is considered the proper person to do this. It should be measured to the child's knee, and cut at that level; they say that if it is cut closer to the child's body the umbilicus will swell up and be painful, [732] and will afterwards project. (Very many children show signs of umbilical hernia.) The cut end is not treated in any way. It is left 846 attached to the child until it drops off naturally. In some cases which came under my observation, this seemed to occur much sooner than would be expected, for instance on the second day after birth. It is preserved in the lime-pot which contains the mother's supply of powdered lime for chewing with areca-nut. There it will remain till the child is grown up, unless the child dies, when it will be taken out and buried in the house. It is usually allowed to remain in the lime-pot, covered by the powder, indefinitely, unless some one finds it by accident, and asks: 'Aren't you going to throw away

856 bandages or a cradle-board, are employed to accentuate the effect.
[854] There are no cradles; if it is required to put the baby down it is laid
on a woman's hood on the ground, but this is not often done, and
I do not think it lies on its back sufficiently to cause any occipital
flattening.

846 The child receives only the most superficial cleansing for the
first five days. Then it is thoroughly washed in fresh water. It may
854 then be taken outside the hut, but its mother is careful to keep it
out of the sun. There is a tendency on the part of young mothers
nowadays to shorten the period of seclusion in the hut, which they
must share with the child, but the old women do not countenance
this breach of rule if they can help it. If the child is *tsunaun*, i.e.
[565] if its mother is a woman of rank, the period of seclusion must be
extended to ten days.

LACTATION

853 In the absence of any animal whose milk can be utilized, the infant is entirely dependent upon its mother for this essential of its diet. In cases of the mother's inability to feed the infant or inability on the part of the infant to suckle, it usually dies. I did not hear of any cases in which the infant of a living woman was suckled by some one else, but instances are known to me where the sister of a woman who had died was feeding the dead woman's baby, having lost her own.

Babies are not passed round and suckled by different women at various times, as has been reported from other regions. While the child is small the mother keeps it with her constantly, taking it with her when she goes to the taro garden or to search for shell-fish on the reef. When it is a little older it may be left at home in charge of a small girl or another woman, but the mother will return to feed it. There is no attempt at regularity of feeding; it is generally offered the breast if it cries much. Some women have very pendulous breasts, but I have not seen any long enough to be thrown over the shoulder to a child carried on the back. I have often seen a woman bend down with her hands on her knees so that a child standing beside her could suck.

757 Women whose children die during the lactation period fre-
quently suffer considerable pain from the retention of the milk.
824 In the cases which came under my personal observation, nothing
was done to relieve this, but in my collection of 'prescriptions'

there are two intended for this purpose. One is for use when the breasts are painful because the child has died: 757 824

Karawinoa (*Acanthaceae*).

Scrape the skin of the root and chew it with the betel-mixture. Spit the mash on to your hand and press it against the woman's breasts. Then scrape the skin off a branch of the same shrub and bury it under the bed on which the woman sleeps.

The other is used to mitigate pain in the breasts at the time of weaning:

Bō (a species of bracken, *Pteris*).

Rub the leaves between the hands, add lime, and massage the breasts.

There is no belief that suckling prevents conception, and this is 853
definitely not the case. Lactation has nothing to do with the period of abstinence from sexual intercourse prescribed after child-birth. The child continues to take the breast long after this has been resumed. Basil Thompson says that with Fijian women, in spite of a prolonged period of suckling, 'menstruation often recom- 841
mences at the 3rd or 4th month after parturition, and cohabitation, even at this early stage, often results in a second pregnancy' (1908, [171]
p. 177). So far as I am aware, the flux is not resumed so early in the women of Bougainville—at any rate some of the women I knew well, whose babies were a year or so old, told me that they had not yet begun to menstruate again since the birth. But the strict taboo enforcing abstinence from sexual intercourse for a period I estimate as at least two years after child-birth (see p. 156) ensures that a second pregnancy shall not follow very quickly.

Suckling is continued for four or five years—judging from the 853
size and condition of some children who were still at the breast. But if another pregnancy occurs, the first child is weaned. A 862
woman will never attempt to suckle both a baby and an elder child, as I have seen done by some American Indian women.

Weaning is, in the normal course of affairs, a gradual process, 862
other food, beginning with taro, which is given from birth, being gradually increased in quantity and variety. The child, according to the statements of the women, makes, of its own account, fewer and fewer demands upon its mother, who accedes to them till they cease. There would seem, accordingly, to be no shock to

kui ni agiu, kama en ta tamū.' 'Don't cry, your mother will go to the taro patch and pull up some taro and bring it for you.' 854

Babies are put to sleep by stroking and patting. Lullabies are 533 often sung, either by making a crooning noise, or by singing softly words made up by the mother as she goes along. A great feature of these is the repetition of the last syllable, as in this example, which is said to have no meaning: '*Pèr per pos satʃi mon a pirpalat a rakū-kū-kū-kū-kū.*' Some lullabies are not improvisations, but are traditional. One of these consists of several syllables each pronounced separately with great emphasis: '*Boa wu e su ma ri ri na to pi ma go lia.*' I could not get these words explained, but was told that all the *urar* (spirits of the dead) are called upon, they all come from the graveyard, and the mother pretends to count them with this song. Then she says: 'Now lie down and sleep, the spirits will get sand and put it on top of you and me.' There is a tiny [824] ● plant called *owa gurus bai'i* (*Biophytum cumingianum*) which is
plant sleep child
often hung round the child's neck to make it go to sleep. I could get no reason why this small plant was supposed to have such an effect, but its use in this connexion was very general. No special care is taken to see that a child gets its proper amount of sleep during the day.

Babies are washed by having water thrown over them from half 854 a coco-nut shell; they are then rubbed over by the hand of the person officiating. One family at Kurtatchi had a large wooden bowl, which they said came from Manus; they used to put their babies into it and give them a real bath, but this was exceptional. All small infants have their skins rubbed with the red substance [302] called *oin* (see p. 416) mixed with coco-nut oil. This is also put on their heads, in order to make their hair grow and to keep it free from lice.

Mothers sing to their babies, and play games with them, just as they do all the world over, and in much the same fashion. There is, for example, a game in which each of the child's fingers is touched or pinched in turn, beginning with the little finger, the mother saying: '*Kubunu, kubugu, tʃiukoir, kububian, awepan, kiri-giri-giri-giri,*' with the last word running her finger lightly up the baby's arm; this is always the signal for gurgles of glee. 'Peep-bo!' is played by the mother clapping her hands and saying '*Tar tar tʃi, hey-hey si!*' ('Look, look, a rattle!'), putting her hand over the

taking his small son or daughter for a walk through the village,
pointing out various things seen on the way, and giving their 868
names. Adults do not, I think, purposely talk to children in the 'baby fashion' affected by many people among ourselves when addressing small children. But like ourselves, they are proud to repeat to one another what their babies can say, and they used to enjoy explaining to me what was meant by a childish attempt at some hard word.

I give a few examples of childish efforts at pronouncing some of the common words of the language: *ia* = *ien* (fish); *uwi* = *uir* (coco-nut); *dada* = *gag* (short for *ruin a gag*, water to drink); *uku* = *tamu* (taro); *u* = *gu* (pig); *kulil* = *kurir* (beads); *kuli* = *kuka* (crab); *pota* = *potan* (sun); *iwa* = *dʒiwau* (moon); *tua* = *tsura* (fire); *dodo* = *isu* (sit down); *titi* = *tʃitʃi* (milk, or breast, said when hungry); *kāki* = *pāki* (carry pick-a-back). These were used by children of my acquaintance who would be perhaps between two and three years old. The speech of a child of four or rather over was quite intelligible to me.

Learning to walk.

Great interest is taken in the child's first attempts to stand 868
upright, and it is helped in its efforts at walking by being held up 824 ●
with a sling made of the fibrous tissue that grows round the stem
of the banana palm. The following 'medicine' is used to make 456
a child learn to walk quickly:

> When it first begins to crawl, take the roots of the tree *Toankinon* (belongs to *Rutaceae*), scrape off some of the small rootlets, chew them with the betel-mixture, spit on to your hand and pull on the child's legs, then rub the saliva over them.

At the point when our children are crawling, these babies seem 145
to go through a stage of 'running on all fours', with the knees
slightly bent and the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet 481
flat on the ground (see Pl. 12). They crawl as well, but as soon as their interest is aroused in something at a little distance from them, they adopt the other method which is quicker. Nomoin, the baby in the photograph (Pl. 12*b*), was my next-door neighbour and a great friend. He would be crawling about in the ordinary way, but as soon as he saw me would make for me on all fours as hard as he could. At this stage he had cut his central incisors in both jaws, and also one lower lateral, and there were signs of the eruption of the

824 178 I have sometimes CHILDHOOD see women string
524 together the ball-like fruit of the carophyllum tree to make a rattle
531 for their babies.

524 Carophyllum balls are used also as playthings by the women, who take two of them in their hands, hold a shell in one hand, throw a ball into the air and knock the other against the shell before the first falls and is caught. But apart from this kind of catching game, there seems to be very little idea of playing with a ball. This seems curious, in view of all the round fruits and nuts, &c., to be found in the bush, but perhaps the explanation is that most of these will not bounce. When I gave a ball to a small boy he did
526 not know what to do with it, but the new plaything soon caught
177 their interest and my balls became very popular. Young men returned from working on plantations have brought back footballs, and this game is now played in most of the villages, in a rough and tumble style, chiefly, if not exclusively, by the older boys and men.

524 Whenever a pig is killed there is great competition among the children for the bladder to blow up into a balloon, the orifice being fastened with a piece of fibre string. If a pregnant sow is killed the embryos are also seized for playthings; the children who are lucky enough to get them run about the village with them all day, showing them to everybody. They carry them about until they tire of them and throw them away.

526 The boys have miniature bows with which they use arrows made out of the mid-rib of the sago-palm leaf. With these they shoot fish, small birds, bats, and occasionally opossum, and they also play at shooting at a mark, such as the top of a tall tree. Even the very small boys were, many of them, quite good at this.

They have mock fights, using sticks instead of spears. These are sometimes quite elaborate affairs, with a number of boys on each side, when they go through the pretence of killing some of the other side, carrying them off, and cutting them up preparatory to making a meal of them, the other side retaliating by doing the same to its own prisoners. Finally, the leader of one side makes peace by sending a message to the leader of the other side to come and chew the betel-mixture with him, the areca-nut which it is customary to send as a symbol being represented by a stone. The affair ends with a friendly meal, in which stones take the place of taro and sand is used for ceremonial pudding.

524 Top-spinning is supposed to be a seasonal game, which should

524 be played only after the ceremony for the first almonds has been performed, and continued during the time the almonds are ripe, but I have seen it done in December when they are over. The tops are made of the upper end of a coco-nut shell, and are spun either by hand or with fibre string. The ground in the village, being trodden hard, serves well. Young men play as much as boys, but women and girls are not expected to do so—'they don't know how'. They play either singly or in groups. In one game two lines are formed, one line spins and the others throw their tops at the spinning ones to try to knock them over. Up in the hills, I found tops [184] made of the shells of the canarium almond, with one end cut off neatly and the cut edges painted with red. These were also spun with string (Pl. 16, No. 4). From the village of Kurtatchi I obtained a form of humming-top, made of a whole coco-nut shell with a spike put through it, on which it revolved, and a hole in one side which caused it to make a noise not unlike that of our own humming-tops (Pl. 16, No. 6). Children also fix spikes through the little green balls of the carophyllum tree and spin them by twisting them between their palms.

The girls have objects which serve as dolls, using for them the word *bai'i*, 'child'. One which I brought home with me consists of a long narrow stone, of the kind picked up in river-beds and often used for various magical purposes (Pl. 16, No. 2). One end, representing its head, is decorated with red and black paint in alternate stripes just as a child's head is decorated for special occasions. ● [824] They also make dolls out of the stalk of the shore lily (*Crinum asiaticum*), putting paint on it and cutting marks in it representing cicatrices, with the appropriate patterns for male and female. They put grass at the top of it to represent the cocks' feathers used for head ornaments at feasts, and flowers for a nose-piece, and another flower for a loin-cloth. A doll's house is sometimes made for it out of the leaf sheaths of young plants.

They make several kinds of puzzle patterns by twisting together the fronds of the coco-nut palm leaf or strips of pandanus (Pl. 16, Nos. 3, 5, 7 are examples of these). No. 1 is a 'buzzer' for imitating the noise made by a black insect called *raŋ*; the toy is swung round by the bit of fibre string of which a small portion is seen below it in the photograph. I have seen a woman make a toy fishing-rod for her child with the mid-rib of a coco-nut and a bit of banana fibre, tying a shred of areca-nut skin on to it for bait. Windmills

in which sexual incidents took a prominent place. The telling of 864
even the most outspoken of these by small boys or girls gave rise to no comments from the audience, nor was it ever made the subject of a jest.

I do not think that any set and definite teaching on sexual matters is given to these children. It certainly is not part of the ritual attaching to the seclusion prior to puberty rites either of boys or girls. This was clearly stated by all with whom I discussed the subject, and it is obvious that long before the children reach the age to undergo these ceremonies they have already acquired a very considerable amount of knowledge, indeed it would be difficult for them to remain in ignorance, since sex forms such a commonplace of everyday life that the most intimate details can be learned in the natural course of things by listening to conversations, observing people's behaviour, watching animals, &c. There is no lack of directness in answering any questions a child may happen to put on the subject, and no suggestion that such matters should not be thought of or talked about. They recognize that sexual practices are hedged about with taboos that should not be, but often are, broken, but so likewise is almost every other activity with which they are familiar—such, for example, as eating or conversing, and, so far as my observations enable me to judge, all these aspects of life are taken for granted in much the same way.

MEDICINE AND MAGIC PERTAINING TO CHILDREN

Small children will frequently be seen wearing round their 789
necks, waists, or arms, strings of leaves, usually of some plant 856
having aromatic properties. Certain plants are known as *nibnib pi* 824
bai'i, flowers for children. These are liked partly because they 825
smell nice, but most of them are also thought to assist the child's growth. The bones of a freshwater fish (*kakau*) caught by hand by men in streams in the bush are hung round the child's neck for the same reason, and hanging from a bit of fibre round its waist will often be seen a hollow tube which appears to be the dried nest of some bush insect. It is called *titi u rē* and was described to me as 'the house of a little snake'.

There are a number of prescriptions in my collection intended 789
to be used for children who do not thrive. Most of them consist of 824
the leaves or stems of various plants rubbed or pulped and mixed 856
with water, which is then given to the child to drink. Rather more

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

789 856 elaborate than most of them is the following, especially intended to strengthen a child whose mother has died when it is very small:

●824 Take the stem of the creeper *asam* near the root (*asam* is *Lygodium dichotomum*, the root of which is used as a contraceptive; the essential quality in both uses is apparently the toughness and hardness of the plant). Take the leaves of the following plants: *worato*, *bakbak* (*Eleusine indica*), *takop*, *tom-tom* (these are both varieties of cordyline), *waras* (a grass, *Digitaria pruriens*), and a small plant with a blue flower of which my informant did not know the name.

Pound these leaves and the stem of *asam* all together into a pulp, by means of a stone. Mix with this pulp a little *owan* (red powder used for many magical purposes, consisting of impure iron oxide). Wrap up the mixture in a dried banana leaf. Pour a little water inside the bundle, leave it for a little while so that the water will take up the 'smell' of the leaves. Then squeeze the water out into a coco-nut shell and give it to the child to drink.

Then unfasten the bundle, take out the leaves, and rub the child's body with them, pulling out all its extremities, legs, toes, arms, fingers, each separately. Then put the leaves back into a bundle, tie it up very strongly with the outside skin of the stem of *asam* (the strongest fastening these people have, used also to tie together the planks of a canoe), and put the bundle carefully away in a safe place in the hut. Here it must remain till the child is grown up. If a rat eats it, another bundle must be prepared in the same way.

Medicines to make the child grow strong and big are chosen according to the size of the child. Most of the plants thus used have not been identified.

789 565 852 856 All of the foregoing may be used for any child, be it tsunaun or commoner. The infancy of a child who is tsunaun is further safeguarded by a series of ceremonies which are either omitted, or performed with far less elaborate detail for a commoner. The fear of 'poison' and harmful magic is never absent from the thoughts of the near relatives of a child of rank, and every step of its way is surrounded by infinite precautions.

CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH THE INFANCY OF A CHILD *TSUNAUN*

852 565 As the children who were born during my residence were all commoners, my knowledge of most of these ceremonies is limited to what I could learn from various informants. Some of the later ones I was fortunately able to witness. They are

has passed over them. The child is not taken into the water, but 852
held at the brink, while all the men and women of the village enter
the sea and play together, the women seizing the men and letting 565
go again, throwing sand and water at one another's heads. 'They
play because the child is *tsunaun*.' Then the child is carried back
to the hut and all the people return to the village.

After that, the child and also its mother and grandmother are 852
decorated with aromatic and flowering plants, and the mother 565
carries her baby round the village, calling at various houses, to 574
show them the child. Mother and child then return to their own
hut, and all the women gather at the *babots*, where they are all
given taro and fish, but no pig.

5. *For first touching the ground.*

During the early part of its life a child who is *tsunaun* must 852
never be allowed to touch the ground, but must always be carried 565
or nursed. 'A long time' after the ceremony just described, a [854]
further ceremony is carried out, to remove this taboo.

When the time has been settled, all the huts in the village are 852
told about it, and all the women make ceremonial pudding (usually
the work of men), and roll it up into very small balls, and cook it 565
in one of the special-shaped pots called *kepa* (Pl. 61*a*, No. 3). They 252
make a basket out of three fronds of the coco-nut palm leaf, and 824
fill the basket with the little balls of pudding. Then they go into
the bush and search for certain small plants, *katſin* and *sekwit*,
aromatic plants with very small leaves. They rub the leaves in
their hands, to bring out the aromatic qualities, and tie some on to
the wrists of the child, and of one of the women who stand to the
child in the relationship of *watſitſio*. The child has more leaves
fastened to his ankles, and some are hung round his neck. These
ornaments must be worn for the rest of that day.

The next day all the women of the village collect clean sand, 852
and spread it on the ground in front of the hut where the child
lives, i.e. at the *tagoan*. First of all they spread a layer of coco-nut 565
palm leaves on the ground, on the top of these they lay a woman's 574
hood, and then spread the sand on the top of the hood. Fresh
sekwit leaves are then fastened to the child's wrist, and he is put
down to sit on the sand, and plays with it. Then everybody eats
some of the small balls of ceremonial pudding. The basket in
which it was passed round must not be thrown away. A woman

VI

ADOLESCENT BOYS

292 ON approaching any village on the north coast of Bougainville, a stranger will at once be struck by the curious head-gear worn by all the boys, except those who are still mere infants (Pl. 19). This head-gear is called in the Kurtatchi dialect *upi* (Ruri and Munlus dialect *buri*; Sĕlō dialect *wasobu*; Hahon (mountain) dialect *wasampo*). Its appearance is more easily appreciated from photographs than from any verbal description. To the unaccustomed onlooker, watching it bob up and down as its wearer goes about his work or play, it seems almost incredible that this ungainly object should be worn except for a joke, yet it is probably the most serious and important thing in the whole culture of the area, being associated with an elaborate series of rules and taboos, which profoundly influence the daily life of the people.

● 824 294 [283 The *upi* is made of the leaves of a small fan-palm (*Licuala*) which is common in the bush, and is called in the Kurtatchi dialect *win*. The manufacture is carried out in the *tobar* and is kept secret from the women. The dried and bleached leaves are stretched over a frame made of thin bamboo, the bottom of which is composed of two circles of stiffer cane, not found in the coastal districts but obtained from the mountain people. The leaves are very neatly stitched together with native fibre-string of exceptional fineness. At the present time this is done with needles from the traders' stores, but in the olden days holes through which to thread the string were made with fine thorns or bits of shell rubbed down to a point on the rough surface of a lump of coral. The bottom of the hat is closely bound round with thicker string. The finished *upi*, though clumsy, is much lighter than it appears to be, but considerable practice is necessary before its wearer acquires sufficient skill to keep it in position as he goes about his various occupations.

ORIGIN OF THE *UPI*

292 The legend of origin, current over the whole area, runs as follows:

773 539 A woman was walking in the bush when she saw an *urar* wearing an *upi*. The woman looked at the *upi* and liked it very much. She said to

881 trees they felled, nor pick up those that lay scattered thickly on the
574 ground. Leaving behind us a desolate scene of wreckage, we went
372 on farther and skirted the village of Tchinopai. From now onwards
487 we climbed steeply, dropping into deep valleys between
ridges. As we stood, during one of the many pauses, on a downward
gradient, we could see the lights of the men in front of us
going down into the depths, and those of the head of the procession
climbing skywards in the far distance. There must have been
between two and three hundred in single file, with torches at
intervals, their flicker making the forest into a mysterious place
full of weird shadows. It is not difficult to understand the general
dread of the forest after nightfall.

881 When we had almost made up our minds that we were to walk
all night, we came to the village of Nimbarossi. On the verandah
574 of a house by the road was laid out another store of provisions,
which were promptly distributed. The crowd then disposed itself
for what remained of the night, some inside the house, some on the
verandah, and a great many on the ground outside.

881 Every one was up at dawn next morning, and the long line continued
to wind up hill and down dale, crossing rivers—fortunately
574 plentifully supplied with boulders—at intervals. The line was
487 constantly broken by men dashing into the bush to get some sweet-smelling
301 or bright-coloured plant, which they stuck into their hair
and armbands, or their belts, if they were lucky enough to possess
that much-coveted article.

881 Presently the whole line halted and collected in a clearing,
spreading wild banana leaves to sit upon. A native never sits on the
574 bare ground if he can help it. The boys who were wearing *upi*
[516] made elaborate covers for them with leaves, because it would not
824 do for the novices to see them before they had received their own.
292 The older men rubbed lime over their faces. One man produced
302 a tin of talcum powder, which was passed round, its contents being
daubed on foreheads and cheeks. Another was the envied possessor
of a pot of brilliantine, which he daubed under his armpits with
evident pleasure. They hung a wreath of aromatic plants round
my neck, which I appreciated as evidence that they did not resent
881 my presence. Presently the sound of a bull-roarer was heard in
[534] the distance. I was told that this was the voice of the *urar*, and
574 that we should presently see them. Before moving on, each man
754 carefully whipped with the large leaves of the wild banana the

881 778 824 propped up against the shed. One man went into the shed, carrying two axes. Another stood just outside, holding half a coco-nut shell full of some red-coloured liquid, which I afterwards ascertained to be the sap of a certain plant (called in the Kurtatchi dialect *muntĕ*) intended to represent blood. Two men went to the group of novices and seized a boy, carrying him face downwards, one holding his shoulders and the other his feet. They took him, still in this position, up to the shed. Here they held him with his head hidden behind the leaves of which it was composed (Pl. 23). The old man inside clanged his two axes together. This represented, I was told, the killing of the boy, and as he was carried out, the man outside dipped his fingers into the coco-nut shell, took up some of the liquid it contained, and made a dab on each side of the back of the boy's head. This represented the blood of the novice, whom the *urar* was supposed to have killed. Then he was carried back to the group, and laid face downwards on the ground, on which a long row of wild banana leaves had meanwhile been spread. More banana leaves were spread over him, completely covering him up, including his head. He was told to lie still and keep his head down. Another boy was then seized, and the performance was repeated till all the novices lay upon the ground covered with leaves. One man carried the smaller boys and two the bigger ones. As each was brought up another man took the hat from his head and laid it aside. These hats were to be burned after the ceremony.

Most of the boys lay very still, but here and there a head would be raised now and then, to be promptly pushed back under the leaves by the men in attendance. After a short wait two old men walked on each side of the line, one up, the other down, howling and crying out repeatedly: '*O! O! kō'wa pēnĕ to mat e na*' ('Oh! Oh! my child is dead') (Pl. 24). When each man had reached his end of the line, another man pulled the leaves off the prostrate boys, and at a signal from him they all stood up, still keeping in line. An old man came round with a banana shoot in his hand and made the motion of touching the mouth of each one. This part of the ceremony is called *ran-gan-ga*, the making alive again. The banana shoot belongs to the *urar*, who gives it to one of the *tsunaun* so that he may bring the boys back to life again; it is very strong medicine.

Then one big fellow at the head of the line, whose hair reached

881 spectacular as the other, though there were many more people present. They had not prepared the ground so well, and it was too flat to give the same opportunity for dramatic effect as was provided by the steep slopes of the other site. The whole thing was much less effectively stage-managed, and I was very disappointed at not seeing the end of it. But it gave me an opportunity of learning new details, and I have reported it thus fully as an example of the kind of variation that may be expected in traditional ritual as performed by different local groups.

THE *URAR* FIGURES

778 The figures used in the *wapi* ceremony to represent the *urar*, or spirits of the dead, are made by the older men in the bush, under
532 conditions of the greatest secrecy. They remain hidden in the bush till wanted. They are made of wood, their faces are painted, and their bodies are covered with the hair cut from former initiates at the *waripsip* ceremony, or, in some cases, with moss. After the ceremony the hair is carefully removed and stored again in the *tobar* for future use. The figure is burnt, together with its *upi*, if it has worn one. I have no details about the manufacture of these figures, except this small point. The man who makes them chews
● [824] the root of the plant *nin* and spits inside the figure, to ensure that it shall not be heavy when carried on the shoulders.

5 Each figure represents an individual *urar*, whose name it bears, for example Buwō, Bupsuip, Kowō (a female), and Upitomet. The last name was borne by a small boy of Kurtatchi, who had received it at the re-naming ceremony described on p. 219. The more figures there are, the more successful the ceremony. Two are not enough. On our return from a *wapi* ceremony, the question most eagerly asked by those who had not been present was: 'How many *urar* were there?'

The drawing reproduced in Fig. 7 is a young man's representation of one of the *urar* figures being carried on the shoulders of a man at the *wapi* ceremony. He had been mysteriously busy with pencil and paper for some time in the farthest corner of my verandah, and when he finally produced and explained it, begged me not to show it to any one in the village or to tell any one that he had drawn it, because the old men would be very angry with him for doing so.

778 few know how to make it; those who do not must pay a man to
534 make one when they need it. It must be paid for with *imun*
[436 (ceremonial currency made of porpoise or flying fox teeth) and
several pigs. The wood of either of two trees may be used, the
824] names of which are *iwiŋ* and *torus*; both are hard-timbered trees. The string is called *inuts*, but is the ordinary twisted fibre string. To sound the bull-roarer is *wawiura*.

881 The bull-roarer may be sounded during the preparations for
the *wapi* ceremony, as well as during the actual performance.
534 During this time the men of one village will sometimes go in the
778 night and sound the bull-roarer outside another village belonging to the group, whereupon the men of the second village must bring out a pig and give it to the bull-roarer party. Shortly afterwards they will go and sound their own bull-roarers outside the original village, and will receive a pig in return. This is all a part of the mystification of the women, who know that the time is near when their sons will be taken from them by the *urar*, and who believe—or are supposed to believe—that it is his voice which is heard near the village during the night, calling for the boys. If the men of any village were to sound the bull-roarer at any other time, all the other places would be very angry, and would 'make poison' against the men of the offending village. The bull-roarer is too terrible a thing to be played with, even though the men all know what it really is.

534 Like the *upi*, the bull-roarer is supposed to have belonged in
773 the first place to a woman. The story of its origin runs as follows:

A woman once went to cut firewood in the bush. When she had
539 finished cutting firewood the sun had already gone down. She picked up a piece of wood and knocked it on a log. It split in two. One piece flew up into the air and made a noise like this (here the teller imitated the noise made by the bull-roarer). The woman jumped up in a fright: 'What is that?' Then she thought: 'It is something very good. It belongs to me, I found it.' She threw away the other half of the broken

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press the matter. A rather more sophisticated man from another village also refused, saying that the people would be angry with him if he did. However, shortly before I left, one of the younger men, who had been a plantation labourer, came to me secretly with one which he had made, saying I could have it if I did not tell any one he had made it. Eventually he brought me also two which had actually been in use, under the same conditions of secrecy, but with the per-
[177] mission of his father, to whom they belonged. Though I was glad to be able to bring home specimens of the bull-roarer, the incident shows only too plainly how the traditional sanctions are weakening.

534 other 17 in. in length and 3 in. in width. Both large and small ones are considered to be male, and each bears [562 775] the name of the *urar* whose voice it is supposed to be. Thus one of those I saw at the *wapi* ceremony was called Buwō, another Upitomet, another Tororon.

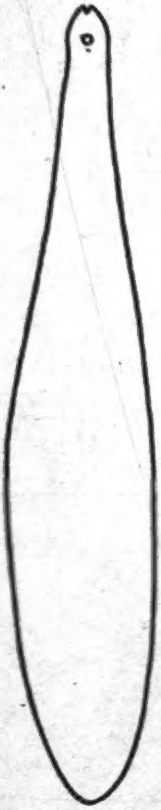

FIG. 8. Bull-roarer.

[562] There is also a subsidiary instrument which is regarded as female. It is made by splitting open the stalk of a bush banana leaf, propping the two sides apart with a bit of stick and fixing the flat part of a leaf into the gap. By blowing upon this leaf in a certain manner, a sound is produced which resembles the wailing of women. The instrument has no name; they say: '*Mon to biom non*' (the woman is crying). [184 136] The Hahon people of the mountainous hinterland make it in a different manner, by taking a canarium almond which has ● [824] had its nut extracted by a *karib* (a species of tree rat) through a hole which the animal makes with its teeth at one end. They blow into this hole, thus producing a similar noise. 534 These instruments are used to impress the novices while they are sleeping 481 in the bush. One man sounds it on one side of their shelter, another sounds it from another direction, another in yet another place. The boys think it is their mothers wailing for them, and are frightened, not knowing what is going to happen to them. These female instruments are not sacred, and are thrown away when they have served their purpose, but no one would make one for me.

CEREMONIES SUBSIDIARY TO THE *WAPI*

881 Several days after the *wapi*, there is a ceremony involving the mothers of the novices (*tʃina'upi*) and the *amro*. As usual in matters of time, it was impossible to obtain exact information as to the length of the interval that is allowed to elapse. Its purpose is to allow the novices to become accustomed to managing their extremely awkward head-gear. This ceremony is called *watog* (*wa*- causative prefix, *tog* = barter). The novices take no part in it, but remain still secluded in the bush until the following day.

881 553 names now given entirely superseded the names by which the boys had previously been called, which were forgotten altogether. But in practice I found that some of the boys wearing the *upi* were familiarly known by the names they had had since babyhood, though if questioned about this they always explained that these were not the 'names belonging to the *upi*', which would then be stated.

881 ● [824] The *amro* will have laid in readiness a supply of certain leaves, collected from the bush. Two of these are varieties of nettle, and sting the skin if touched. These are called *bobuwiar* and *sentun*. The third, called *nes*, I cannot identify.[1] The *amro* now fetch water and soak the leaves in it. With this mixture they return to the village. By this time it is getting dark. The *amro* find the mothers of the novices in the village, and throw over them the water containing the leaves, 'it makes the women's skin sting and they cry'. The women run away into their huts and fasten the doors. The *amro* climb up on to the roofs of the huts where the *tʃina'upi* are hiding, and throw water down through the roof. (The layers of sago-palm leaf thatch with which the huts are roofed can very easily be displaced for this purpose without doing any damage.) Then the *amro* run away from the village and go back to the *nōnō*, where the novices have remained while all this has been going on. This they do by night, a practice contrary to the usual custom except on special occasions, such as the present, when they consider themselves to be specially protected by the nature of their errand from the dangers usually lurking in the bush after dark.

They sleep with the novices in the *nōnō* for the rest of that night, and next morning, at early dawn, they come back to the village and throw stones and sticks at all the huts, not confining themselves to those in which there are *tʃina'upi*. As they throw, they call out: '*Wapor wats!*' ('Throw stones!') The people inside the huts talk among themselves; they are afraid of the *amro*. Then the *amro* return to the bush.

[292] [302] The novices are now given hats of the same shape as before, but decorated with patterns in red-dyed leaf (Pl. 27). Their bodies are hung about with aromatic plants, and painted with the usual pigments,

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[1] Another account gave the leaves used as *katʃan*, *kawawar*, and *lasebě*. The sap of the last-named, if applied to the skin, causes little weals. The essential thing is that the leaves shall hurt a little when they touch the skin of the *tʃina'upi*.

II. *Regulations concerning food.*

When they first put on the hat, the boys may not eat opossum, 882 but this prohibition is removed as soon as their hair has grown a little. It may be, though it was not stated by my informants, that 262 this taboo has arisen because the cuscus opossum has very short [825] fur, with the idea that if they were to eat the animal before their hair had grown beyond the length of the fur, it would never attain greater length than this. Even after they are permitted to eat [252] opossum, it must be cooked in an oven; they may not touch any 'possum meat that has been roasted in the embers or boiled in a pot. Pig is allowed them cooked in any fashion.

Fish may be partaken of freely, cooked in any manner, except that certain specified kinds are totally prohibited. These are: [136] *karawa*, *sosoa* (garfish), *tɔro*, *poa*, and *useŋ*. I could elicit no reason for the prohibition of these particular fish. They are not rare, neither are they especially highly prized as articles of food. It is noteworthy that there is no prohibition on the eating of bonito.

The boys may eat fruit, except a certain variety of banana called 882 *masōn*, the fruit of the banana palm used in the girl's first menstrua- 262 tion ceremony. The relation between bananas and sexual matters 824 has been referred to in another connexion—it is because of this that the fruit is prohibited to the *upi* boys.

There is also a taboo upon the eating of canarium almonds, 882 until a ceremony has been performed whereat the boys are given nuts to eat in public. If this rule is broken it is said that their hair 262 will not grow. I could discover no reason why such a result was [826] supposed to follow. It may be that it was used as a deterrent, and that the taboo is for disciplinary purposes. Since canarium almonds are eaten with the greatest relish by everybody, it represents a very real deprivation; but, on the other hand, nothing was said by any of my informants about the idea of discipline, in discussing the regulations enforced at this stage, though it entered very definitely into the dietary restrictions imposed during the seclusion prior to the *wapi* ceremony, as this was clearly stated more than once in our discussions on these matters. Perhaps one might venture to conjecture that, like some of the Australian food taboos, it may originally have been devised with a view to conserving the supply of nuts for the benefit of the rest of the village. Seeing that the boys of Bougainville do not differ fundamentally from boys

882 elsewhere, and that opportunities for eating the forbidden nuts with
little danger of discovery are legion, I suspect that this rule is more
262 honoured in theory than in practice, in spite of the urgent necessity
of having a good growth of hair to show at the *watawutʃ*. But
considerable stress was laid upon it in all our talks upon the subject,
and its theoretical importance is also clear from the fact that fathers,
and, less frequently, mothers of boys wearing the hat will voluntarily
refrain from eating canarium almonds in sympathy with
their sons. Sobak and his wife Tsonakets were doing so while I
was in residence at Kurtatchi.

882 In the olden days the *upi* boys might never be seen in the act
264 of eating, but had to take their food into the *tobar* and consume it
in private. They were not allowed to handle knives, so it was the
177 duty of their *amro* to cut up their food for them. This custom is
no longer observed.

882 They may chew the betel-mixture, but must use with it only the
276 leaves of the betel-pepper, not the fruit, which is preferred under
ordinary circumstances.

III. *Regulations concerning personal appearance.*

882 The hair of the boys is never cut or trimmed from the time they
302 go into the bush before the *wapi* ceremony until it is ceremonially
cut short at the *wasipsip*. It is pushed up underneath the *upi*,
except for a few straggling ends on neck and forehead.

593 The fathers of boys wearing the *upi* sometimes lay themselves
under a similar prohibition as regards cutting their hair, which
302 they tie up into a knot on the top of the head. This method of hairdressing
is seen in Plate 52. Mothers do not cut their hair over the
temples, and do not put paint on it. This custom is not obligatory
upon either sex, and is followed only by a few.

826 There are certain 'medicines' for making the hair grow long, of
● 824 which the following is a typical example:

> 789 Take the long (tap) root of the plant *niyowan* (unidentified). Chew
> the end of it with the betel-mixture, spit out the resulting mash into
> your hand and put it inside the hat, pushing it well up to the top. It will
> pull up the hair and make it grow longer. The longer the root you chew,
> the longer your hair will be.

882 The boys may not wear red paint on their hair, or white paint
302 on their temples, except as prescribed for the various ceremonies,
when it is put on by their *amro*. In one case the *amro* of a boy

stood to him in the relation of *pi'an* (cross-cousin), and as he was 882
therefore prohibited from touching his skin, another man was 302
specially appointed to perform the duty of putting on the paint.

They may not decorate themselves with a plant called *tsutsuir*, 882
which is much liked by these people and is frequently worn tucked 301
into the arm-band. This prohibition is removed after the watawutch 824
ceremony.

IV. *Other regulations.*

In the olden days, boys wearing the *upi* were not allowed to 882
handle edged tools. They might help to clear the bush, but all 412
cutting was done by the *amro*. This taboo is no longer enforced.

A boy wearing the *upi* may not be beaten by anybody, no matter 882
what his offence. Those who break this taboo will die. Specific
instances were cited of people who had done so—and had died. 861
It is permissible for two boys to fight each other, though it is
difficult to imagine how they could do so effectively without first
removing their head-gear.

In recent years, with the increase in the practice of going away 882
to work for white men, another rule has been made, that the boys 464
wearing the *upi* may not sign on as indentured labourers. For
some time after putting on the hat they must not work for white
men at all, but after their hair has grown to some length they can
work as casuals, provided they work on a plantation near enough
to their own village to enable them to return to it each night. They [292]
are not allowed to remove their *upi* while at work. After they
have been through the *watawutʃ* they may sign on as indentured
labourers and are permitted, if they wish, to remove the *upi* and
tie up their hair in a bit of cloth; this is done to keep it out of the
way rather than to prevent it from being seen, since the prohibition
on showing it is removed at the *watawutʃ*.

A further complication is now caused by the boarding-schools 882
instituted by the various missions. A boy from Ruri who went to 797
one of these had his *upi* removed by the priest. His people were
very angry, but the affair was not as bad as it might have been, 871
because the lad had been through the *watawutʃ* ceremony. It
was legitimized by making a feast at Ruri, to which the Kurtatchi 292
people were invited; this brought the matter to my notice. (Inci- 788
dentally, those who went said it wasn't much of a feast, there was
only one pig and some taro, and they got only very little apiece!)

PREPARATIONS FOR THE *WATAWUTʃ*

881 The *watawutʃ* is considered by far the most important of the three ceremonies connected with the *upi*. It is looked forward to with great eagerness by everybody. In contrast to the *wapi*, it is held in the village, not in the bush, and there is no taboo on the presence of the women, which is, indeed, essential to its success. All the boys who went through the *wapi* ceremony together must attend the same *watawutʃ*. Not to be able to do so is considered a very great misfortune.

881 565 824 202 Several months before the ceremony, the *tsunaun* of the village in which it is to be held sends messengers to all the other villages in the group, carrying a number of strips of bamboo about 6 inches long, and a bunch of *win* leaves split into thin strands. A strip of bamboo is left with the *tsunaun* of each village, and one of the *win* strands at each house where there is in the family a boy wearing the *upi*. This is a sign that they must set aside a pig for the *watawutʃ* ceremony. Large areas of bush are cleared and planted with taro, which is also reserved for the *watawutʃ*. The women plant and tend this just as they do taro intended for everyday consumption.

881 346 621 313 824 When the time for the ceremony approaches, preparations are begun for building the 'long house' (*tobar tʃan*) for the novices. The *tsunaun* of the village in which the ceremony is to be held details certain portions of the structure to be provided by the various villages of the group. Special importance is attached to the *pa'i*, the horizontal ridge-poles supporting the roof. These must run the full length of the house, and it is no easy matter to find and bring in poles (consisting of the aerial roots of the banyan) of the required length. Those for the *tobar tʃan* at Kurtatchi, which were brought in while I was there, were provided by the [804] village of Tabut. A length of fibre string had previously been sent from Kurtatchi as an indication of the length required. They measured 65 ft. 8 in.[1] They are brought through the bush by the 881 313 824 *upi* boys themselves, assisted by the older men, both *amro* and *kwigin*. All the women must keep out of the way while this is being done. Marotē had promised to accompany me on a visit to Ruri on the day when the *pa'i* were brought, but when she heard this was

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[1] For the ordinary dwelling-house the *pa'i* would measure not more than about 40 feet.

to be done she refused to go, saying it was dangerous to walk about 881
on that day. The *pa'i* were brought to within about half a mile of
the village. They were covered with leaves, and from them depended 313
all sorts of creepers and ornamental plants, especially the 824 ●
split leaves of the *win* palm, of which the *upi* are made. They were laid upon forked sticks set up in the ground to a height of about 3 feet. There they remained for three days, until enough opossums had been caught and smoked to provide a feast following their arrival in the village.

On the afternoon of the third day, just before dusk, a crowd of 881
men and *upi* boys went out, to the accompaniment of the sound
of the *mabu* and much blowing of conch-shells, to meet the Tabut 313
people, who were bringing in one *pa'i*. There were several rushes, 621
and pretence of fighting, and much shouting when it finally reached
the village and was placed upon a stand that had been prepared for 574
it in the central space, near the *tobar*. Then all the men and boys from both villages congregated in front of Pinari's largest hut. Here they held a short *kōma*. Then they went back to the *tobar*. Presently the people of Ruri came up with the areca-palm planks they had prepared for the making of the verandah of the 'long house'. These were also swathed in leaves, and were received with another mock fight, followed by another *kōma*. Then the people of Sēlō, a group of villages farther along the road to the west, came up with two more *pa'i* and were received in the same fashion. After this all the men and boys sat round and ate pig and opossum and ceremonial pudding. The materials for chewing the betel-mixture were distributed in large quantities. There was a general air of tension about the whole proceedings, and Pinari was careful to impress upon me the importance of the occasion.

All the women were obliged to stay inside their huts, with the 881
entrance closed, while all this was going on. They kept up a perpetual howling until the *kōma* was over and the men had settled down to eat pig and to chew the betel-mixture. The howling is done because their husbands and sons are engaged upon a very dangerous proceeding, and they are afraid that some of the *upi* boys will die.

The boys wearing the *upi*, for whose benefit all these preparations were being made, held a *kōma* later in the evening, no one else taking any part in it. It did not last very long (Pl. 30*a*).

The *pa'i* remained on their stand, covered with leaves and 881
313

881 creepers, for eight days. They were then stripped of their cover-
313 ings by the *upi* boys, and left to dry in the sun till they should be
required for the building of the 'long house'.

881 The *tartaras* (rafters) for the long house were also provided by
the people of Tabut. These were brought in some days later, with
313 renewed shouting and excitement, covered with leaves and the split
621 leaves of young *win* palm in the same manner as the *pa'i*. But the
occasion was regarded as much less important than the bringing
in of the *pa'i*, and there was no *kōma* connected with it.

881 From the time when the *pa'i* are cut, up to the time when the
watawutʃ takes place, it is accounted a very serious offence for
834 any man in any of the villages concerned in the ceremony to have
688 sexual intercourse with any woman other than his wife or wives,
a proceeding ordinarily regarded with unconcern. It so happened that while the people of Tabut were working on the *pa'i* for the *watawutʃ* to be held at Kurtatchi, a man from one of the hamlets comprising the village of Tabut broke this taboo. The woman became pregnant, and was made to tell the name of her lover. As soon as this became known at Kurtatchi, some of the men of that village took a pole and tied some fibre to it; this they left in front of the house where the offender lived, as a sign that he had been found out. He was then obliged to pay a fine of a pig to the Kurtatchi people. Two of the Kurtatchi men went over the next day and brought the pig back; it was cut up and cooked immediately, and the *pa'i* were smeared with its fat. This was done in order to obviate the harm that might otherwise have ensued from the breaking of the taboo.

881 The next matter of importance was to arrange for the making of
292 the special *upi*, to be used at the *watawutʃ*. These are elaborately
ornamented with a cut-out pattern laid on over the usual *win*
● 824 leaves. The cut-out is made of the same *win* palm leaves, dyed
386 with a special dye, the secret of which is known only to the moun-
438 tain people, from whom the leaves are purchased ready dyed.
When, shortly before, I had gone upon a trip into the interior, I was charged by Pinari to bring back a supply of these from the Kunua people, who were experts in the art of dyeing them. This I did, and was also able to obtain from a Kunua native the secret of the dye, after promising that I would not disclose it to the coast people, a promise which it was not difficult to keep, as they had no idea that the mountain people had let me into the secret. The

actual method of dyeing is the same as that well known to the coast 881
people, who use it for colouring pandanus leaves to ornament the
women's hoods. The secret possessed by the mountain people is 292
the use of a mordant which sets the dye and renders it more or less 824 ●
permanent, the untreated colour quickly fading in the sun and 386
being washed out by rain. The procedure for dyeing the red leaves 438
for the upi is as follows: The leaves of the *win* palm are picked
while they are green, and are put into a length of bamboo and
dried over the fire. When thoroughly dry, they are taken out and
put in the sun until bleached white, then hung in the rafters of the
hut where the smoke of the fire will reach them. This colours
them a light brown, and also helps to preserve them, and they
remain there until needed. When it is intended to dye them, the
roots of the tree called in the Kunua dialect *boridor*, which is
the same as that known to the Kurtatchi people as *riro* (*Morinda
citrifolia*), are put, with some water, into a length of bamboo which
must be freshly cut. Some of the bark of the tree called *kaifika* in
the Kunua dialect is soaked in cold water and squeezed out into
the bamboo. This forms the mordant. (I obtained a piece of the
bark and specimens of the leaves of this tree, but unfortunately it
cannot be identified, and the quantity is too small to permit of
analysis.) The *win* leaves are pushed into the bamboo and the
whole laid on the embers of a smouldering fire. When the colour
is considered deep enough, the leaves are taken out and washed in
cold water, and then laid in the sun until they are dry. Thus prepared, [435
they are sold in bundles of ten, enough for one *upi*, for goods]
or tobacco to the value of about 2*s*. in our money. They are called
kokoman in the Kurtatchi dialect.

As I had not brought enough *kokoman* back with me from Kunua 881
to provide for all the *upi*, a trip was made to a group of hill villages
behind the north coast to arrange for a further supply. Eight of 437
the most important men of the village went on this journey. None
of the *upi* boys were permitted to go, but I accompanied the party
by invitation. We brought seven loin-cloths to pay for seven sets
of *kokoman* leaves, enough for seven *upi*. It was arranged that the
hill people should bring them down to Kurtatchi when they were
ready. This they did twelve days later. They were received with [576
blowing of conch-shells and beating of the slit-gong with the 533]
rhythm /// /// /// . . . /. The leaves were carefully put away
in the *tobar*.

881

294 they wanted the *tsunaun* to see the hats they had made. All the men
688 who were *tsunaun* said: 'They are good. You go now and eat some pig.
[539] You are making very sacred things.'

The teller of this story volunteered the statement that nowadays, if a woman behaved as did the woman in the tale, they would not be able to kill her, because the Government had forbidden it.
[754] They would all have intercourse with her, and then somebody would 'make poison' against her and she would die, but it would not be known who was responsible for her death.

PRELIMINARIES

881 When all the preparations are complete, a hut is built in the
[342] bush, and the boys must sleep there for two nights. The *amro* accompany them. During this time the boys are not allowed to eat anything except one small piece of taro. The reason given for this abstinence is that if they were to eat too much they would be too heavy to be carried on the shoulders of the *amro* during the ceremony.

881 While the boys are in the bush, the people of the village where
621 the *watawutʃ* is to be held set up platforms in the centre of the village and cover them with food. All the villages which are sending
574 boys to the ceremony help in providing this food. Vast quantities are required, as people come from villages scattered over a wide area. At the one to be held at Kurtatchi they were expecting contingents from the whole of the north coast of Bougainville and all the islands of Buka. Failure to provide enough food for the assembled multitude would in the olden days have resulted in a fight ending in the breaking up of the village, and even now resentment would be shown by wanton damage to taro crops and coco-nut palms, if nothing worse.

881 Meanwhile, a palisade has been erected round the 'long house', so high that the women cannot see over it. Then the men go into
417 the bush and fetch two tall trees. Young canarium almonds are
324 frequently chosen for this purpose, owing to their tall slender trunks, though they are not felled under ordinary circumstances, as their nuts are highly prized as an article of diet. If there is a *wapi* ceremony going on anywhere in the neighbourhood, these trees must be pulled up by the roots instead of being felled, otherwise the *urar* who are about in the bush will be angry.

881 The selected trees are called *roror*. They are brought near, but
824

not into, the village, and hidden in the bush. Conch-shells are 881 blown; there is much shouting and calling out about the *roror*. Eventually they are brought into the village and set up in front of 824 the long house inside the palisade. If the number of boys is very large, there may be three *roror*, but usually there are only two. Each is assigned to one group of villages. At the ceremony to be held at Kurtatchi, there was to be one tree for the boys of Tabut and Wantoa, led by Kakari, and another for the rest of the group, led by Wasē.

THE *WATAWUTS* CEREMONY

On the day appointed for the ceremony, the amro bring their 881 charges into the village while it is still dark, and they all enter the palisade. The opening which was left for them to pass through is fastened up after them. They go into the long house, where the new hats which have been made for them have been set out by the *kwigin* and the *amro* on a number of sticks planted in the ground in rows, one row for each village.

Still before dawn, a live pig is brought and tied up at the root of each *roror*, together with a pile of taro tubers smeared with red paint. The boys are brought out, to the accompaniment of the blowing of the big pipes, and the shouting of all the men. Each boy, beginning with those who are *tsunaun*, takes off his *upi* and places it carefully at the foot of the tree representing the group of villages to which he belongs. He must then climb the tree, in order to show his growth of hair to the assembled people, particularly to the women, who watch from a distance, outside the palisade. It is the first time they have seen their sons with uncovered heads since they first went to the bush preparatory to the *wapi* ceremony, perhaps several years before. Only boys whose hair has grown very long can go up the trees. If any boy with a poor growth of hair showed himself, everybody would laugh. While each boy is up on the tree, the *amro* and the *kwigin*, standing at its foot, shake it violently, so that the boys have to hold fast to prevent themselves from being shaken off. Each remains a minute or two only, and then climbs down again, to make way for the next. As he comes down he must step on the pig which is tied up at the foot of the tree, and make it squeal. So far as I could ascertain, the only reason for the presence of the pig is to add to the general din, and so impress the people (particularly the women, who cannot see inside the palisade, and are supposed not to know the pig is there) with

Each boy carries in his right hand a carved lime-pot,[1] hanging 881 by a string. At this stage in the proceedings the pots must be [445] empty of lime. They are filled by the *kuvigis*, in the *tobar*, after the close of the ceremony. The right hand also holds a bunch of the aromatic leaves called *tsutsuir*, which he has been forbidden to [824] use since putting on the hat. In his left hand he holds two areca-nuts on a stalk, and in his mouth a catkin of the betel-pepper, which has also been denied him. These prohibitions are now at an end.

The *amro* walk round in wheel formation, as at an ordinary *kōma*, with their charges on their shoulders. All the men join in it, [535] but the women do not dance, they keep up a ritual wailing, just as they do for a death. When the men have been round once, the procession goes back inside the palisade. By this time it is getting light. The *amro* have a short time for rest, then they take the boys on their shoulders again, and the *kōma* is repeated for another two rounds. Then the boys are carried to the front of the long house, and are offered water by their *amro*, which they must only pretend to drink, and taro, which they must only pretend to eat. After this, which again is said to be a safeguard against their being 'poisoned', they go into the long house and are given pig, taro, and ceremonial pudding to eat in reality. The visitors from other villages are provided with supplies of areca-nut and go back to their own homes.

Later in the morning, all the initiates, still wearing their new hats with the red patterns, make a round of the village and go inside the huts of the married people, which they have not been able to do since they first put on the *upi*. Then they come back to [292] the long house, go inside the palisade, take off the decorated hats and put on plain ones. The decorated ones are kept in the permanent *tobar*, and are put on for special occasions. Boys who are [565] *tsunaun* may, if they wish, wear decorated hats all the time, but must keep them covered with an outer layer of leaves. The outer [465] covers are made for them by their *amro*, who do not receive payment for this service. Fig. 9 is a boy's drawing of a *kōma* connected with the *watawutʃ*, at which the boys are wearing the decorated upi.

The long house, the palisade, the *roror* trees, the wooden figures,

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[1] For description of these lime-pots see p. 432 and Pl. 72. One of those figured (on left in second row) has actually been used in a *watawutʃ* ceremony, but as a rule those that have been so used are very highly prized by their owners who are unwilling to part with them. Another had similar human figures, but placed vertically instead of horizontally.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

The present chapter is chiefly concerned to record the state of 882 affairs at the time when the investigation was made, in a village where, as far as the adolescent girls were concerned, the original conditions still prevailed.

Of the adolescent girls at Kurtatchi, by far the most interesting 159 was Nawi, whose first menstruation ceremony I attended~~, and shall~~ presently describe. She was very friendly, and often begged me to 882 come with her to the taro garden she helped her mother to keep in order, or to the reef to look for shell-fish. She was betrothed to a boy at Ruri, who still wore the *upi*, and though he had been through the *watawutʃ* ceremony, she expected—and hoped—that it would be some time before his hair would be long enough for him to submit himself for the *wasipsip* ceremony at which the hair is cut and the hat finally removed. Until that had been done, Nawi had no need to think about her marriage.

Belonging to a family of *tsunaun*, she was a person of importance 159 in the village—the original village of Kurtatchi, in which the *tsunaun* family were of the Naboin clan (their history has been 882 given in Chap. II). Accordingly, certain customs had to be ob- 565 served at various epochs in her life. The only one of these—other 824 than the menstruation ritual—which occurred while I was at Kurtatchi, marked the stage at which she was permitted to go and collect from the bush the heavy spathes at the lower end of the leaf of the areca-palm. These, when dried, are used as receptacles for [415] all kinds of purposes, and are mentioned continually in these pages by the native term *kōbū*. One day several of the women told me they were going out to collect a number of them in order to hold this ceremony for Nawi. They asked me to go with them. Nawi did not come. We went to a part of the bush about six miles off, where there were a number of wild areca-palms, and hunted in the underbush for fallen leaves from which to cut the spathes. One or two trees had been recently cut down, apparently on purpose. Part of the next day was spent in scraping clean the *kōbū* we brought back with us, and fixing sticks across them to keep them from curling up while drying. At dusk, the women all gathered in the centre of the village, where the *kōbū* were laid out. They held a [535] *hōma*, taking up the wheel-like formation which in ordinary dances is the prerogative of the men. Nawi danced too, but took no outstanding part in the proceedings. Afterwards we all went to her mother's hut and ate ceremonial pudding. This took place six

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882
565 months before the menstruation ceremony, with which it was not
824 in any way connected.

Owing to the impossibility of obtaining from these people any
159 information whatever with regard to the passage of time, I cannot
145 give the age at which girls begin to menstruate. To judge from
881 their appearance, it would seem to vary considerably in different individuals. Nawi, with breasts not yet fully developed (see Pl. 31), had been expecting her first period for nine months or so before it actually occurred. Kiots, with little, if any, further advanced breast development, had been menstruating for more than a year. From the appearance of their breasts and pubic hair, I should estimate the ages of these girls to be somewhere about twelve or thirteen. Both had cut their second permanent molar teeth, the presence of which, among ourselves, is usually a sign that the twelfth birthday has been passed. Muben, looking decidedly older, with much fuller breasts, went through her first period about ten months earlier than Nawi, while I was told that Laia, whom I should have judged, from her looks, to be at least in her later teens, had started the flux at about the same time as Muben.

881 Unlike the first puberty ceremony for boys, which depends, not
on their physiological development, but on the number of boys
565 whose parents desire it, and upon the condition of the food supply, the puberty rite for girls is held for each girl singly, and at the actual time of her first period. There is also another difference. While all the boys, whether *tsunaun* or commoners, must undergo the same series of ceremonies in exactly the same manner, the puberty ceremony for girls is held, in its entirety, only for girls who are *tsunaun*. A very much shortened form, with important parts of the ritual omitted, is performed for commoners.

881 I will first give an account of the full ceremony for a *tsunaun*, as
159 related to me by the women, chiefly by Pari, one of the most important women at Kurtatchi, and afterwards a description of the cere-
565 mony as I saw it performed for Nawi, who, though *tsunaun*, went through it in a modified form owing to special circumstances.

ACCOUNT OF GIRL'S FIRST MENSTRUATION CEREMONY AS GIVEN BY KURTATCHI WOMEN

881 When a girl finds that she is bleeding for the first time, she does not like it, she is afraid, she hides in the bush. She runs away from her mother, and does not tell her, but her mother guesses what has

881 happened, and asks her: 'You are bleeding, aren't you?' The girl does not speak, she is afraid, but she nods her head. Her mother asks her: 'Did you see the blood when you got up this morning?' Then her mother tells the other women: 'The girl has broken.' All the women are glad. They call out, and jump about, and shout, and say: 'By-and-by we shall eat a big pig, and have a dance.' They are all glad about the girl, and as they go to work they talk about her, and are pleased.

The girl's mother gives her a little taro, secretly, saying to her: 'You eat it up quickly and don't let any one see you do it.' After [262] that she must go hungry, she must not eat any more. She is forbidden to eat taro, coco-nuts, bananas, pig, or fish, and she must not drink. All that she can have is a kind of areca-nut, which is not strong, and has water in it, so that it moistens her tongue. ● [824] (This is not the kind of areca-nut which is usually chewed, but a smaller variety, called *gagmorat*, *gag* = drink.)

881 784 621 565 Two children keep her company and go hungry along with her. They must belong to her clan. Both must be too young to menstruate. The girl's mother, father, brothers and sisters (blood and classificatory), and grandparents do not eat either. For a commoner this is enough, but for a girl who is *tsunaun* all the village goes hungry. This fast goes on for about two days, until a certain part of the ceremony is over.

881 When the girl's mother goes to draw water in the evening, she must take all the water-coco-nuts (see p. 289) and hide them in another hut. If she does not want to do this, she must pour away all the water that is not used immediately. If she left any of it in [841] the hut, the girl might steal some and drink it, and that would be very bad for her, for then her blood would flow all the time and would not dry up. The two children who are keeping the girl company may drink a little secretly, without letting the girl see them, and they may eat a little taro also in the same way. After two days the girl may eat a little specially prepared taro, which her mother brings to her secretly, and may drink a very little water, enough to make her tongue cold.

[565] The girl and her two companions must stay inside the hut for five days and nights. If she is a commoner four will be enough. She must sit all the time doing nothing, and must not leave the hut at all except to relieve herself. When this is necessary she puts on a hood, and goes no farther than the back of the hut. One of the

881 children must accompany her, also wearing a hood. During this time she must not handle fire. (This involves her abstinence from [276] smoking, which is a very great hardship.)

After sleeping for the fifth night the prohibition on handling fire is over. She is given a drink, which she must drink when no one is [272] looking. It consists of the milk of a green coco-nut mixed with the ● 824] leaves of certain plants (specimens of these were given to me, with their native names, but have not been identified). She and her two [302] companions have their heads painted red with *owan*, and their foreheads outlined with white (*wiwi*).

All the women *kōma*, the conch-shell is sounded, and the slit-gong is beaten in this rhythm:

[533] *///* .. *///* .. *///* .. *///* .. *///* .. *///*, &c.

The girl does not join in the *kōma*, she stays in the house. All the women call out: 'To-morrow we shall eat a big pig. It will be cut into pieces.' Each of them calls out which part of the pig she would like for herself: 'I want its head.' 'I want its neck.' 'I want its leg.' 'I want its hind quarters,' and so on.

881 Then word is sent to the neighbouring villages. For example, 574 for a girl living at Kurtatchi a woman will be sent to Ruri and one to Tabut, telling the people there to collect taro to make ceremonial pudding. They prepare packages of ceremonial pudding and cook them, and bring them to the village. Every woman who can possibly manage it will accept this invitation.

881 Next day, before dawn, the women of the village in which the girl lives go and cut down a banana palm which has a bunch of 824 nearly ripe bananas on it. (This is a special kind of banana called *pias a mon* (*pias* = climb a tree, *mon* = woman). Its fruit may never be eaten by boys wearing the *upi*.) They cut down the tree close to the ground, with the fruit and leaves remaining on it. This must be done while it is still dark. They bring the tree back to the village, and lay it on the ground near the girl's hut.

As dawn is breaking, the banana palm is stuck in the ground in front of the girl's hut, at the *tagoan*. The women bring a quantity of certain young plants and saplings (the only two which I could identify were sugar-cane and canarium almond). These must not be cut, but pulled up by the roots, and are planted in front of the hut in two rows, making an avenue between the banana tree and the hut.

Then the men go into the bush and cut down wild areca-nut 881
palms and make planks which they bring to the village. They
make a long platform like a bridge, supported on poles stuck in the 417
ground, leading from the front verandah of the hut to the banana
palm, between the two rows of saplings.

One of the two girls who have been keeping the menstruating 881
girl company now comes out of the hut, walks along this bridge,
and climbs up the banana palm. She sits down on top of the bunch
of bananas. This girl is called *mani*, 'the opossum'. I could get no
explanation for the use of this term. The girl chosen must be too
young to menstruate, and is usually about seven or eight, judging
from the appearance of the children who were pointed out as being
of the right size to act as *mani*.

The girl for whom the ceremony is being performed now comes 881
out of the hut for the first time since the flow began. By this time
it will have finished. She wears round her waist a series of girdles 292
made of the outer bark of the banana palm, some scraped and dried 824
in the sun, with a pattern cut on them; other girdles are made of
a white cane, and others still of the same cane (rattan, I think) dyed
red with *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*). She also wears a plaited and
twisted belt (*soui*) of the inner skin of the bush banana, similar to
that sometimes seen at dances. There are five different kinds of
girdles altogether. From them, in front, is suspended a bunch of
leaves (*onon*), chosen either for their decorative appearance, or for
their aromatic properties. A long list of native names of leaves
suitable for this purpose was given to me. These must not be cut,
but must be pulled up by the roots. The roots are left attached, [436]
and are bound round with lengths of ceremonial currency, both
shell and teeth. The roots must be uppermost, coming up on to
the girl's chest; the leaves hang down in front of her, the fastening
being at about the level of the navel. She must wear no other 881
covering. Her hair is painted with the pattern called *wapatan writs*,
i.e. a red stripe in the middle, going from forehead to back of neck, 302
a stripe of black on either side, then another stripe of red on the
outer side of the black stripes, these red ones reaching down to the
ears. Her temples and forehead are edged with white paint. Round [301]
her neck she wears a *piris* (ornament made of clam shell with overlay
of tortoise-shell filigree work, see Pl. 68).

She walks along the bridge and climbs up into the banana palm, 881
sitting down just below the bunch of fruit, on a small plank which

pudding and pieces of pig, and rub them on to their genitals, and 881 then on one another's mouths, with the secretion from the vulva 831 adhering to them. The women are obliged to eat these pieces. If any one refuses she is held down, her mouth forced open, and the food pushed into it.

When the women have had enough of this sexual play, the 881 visiting women are all given quantities of food to take back with them. They then disperse to their own villages. The whole of this part of the ceremony, involving the banana palm, is performed [565] only for persons of rank.

The three children, i.e. the girl for whom the ceremony is being 881 performed, the one who acted as 'opossum girl', and her other 252 companion, remain inside the hut for a few days more. The exact 824 period was not specified; my informants said it did not matter very much. They may now eat taro which has been roasted in the embers or cooked in an oven, but not that which has been boiled in a pot. They may not eat the meat of a green coco-nut, but they may break open ripe ('dry') coco-nuts and cook them in the embers like taro, then scrape the meat off them; this they may eat. (In the ordinary way the meat of a coco-nut at this stage is not considered fit to eat.) If the girl who has been menstruating eats green coco-nuts [841] or taro that has been boiled in water, she will have another period in a short time, and will lose too much blood. The same prohibition applies to taro leaves, which these people are accustomed to boil and eat as we eat spinach. These are liable to have the same effect, being cooked in water, but the leaves may be made into a package tied up with covering leaves, and roasted in the embers; in this form, since they are cooked dry, she is permitted to eat them. But she is absolutely forbidden to eat pig, fish, or opossum, which amounts to the prohibition of all flesh foods.

When a few days have passed, the girl's mother prepares a 881 special pot of taro, called *pipiro*. One *roran* (six tubers) of each of 252 several different kinds of taro is taken and boiled in a pot with certain aromatic leaves. Taro thus prepared is esteemed a great delicacy. The men go fishing, and bring in certain kinds of fish. The names of fourteen kinds of fish were given to me in this connexion. They were all rather small fish, so far as I could ascertain. No reason could be elicited for choosing these particular kinds. They are brought into the village; the girl's mother wraps them up in the large leaves of the bush banana, which are much used in

Ruri, the next village to Kurtatchi, there was a girl of rank for 881
whom this should have been done, but the proceedings were reduced to a short period of seclusion and the cooking of the *pipiro*. 797
It would have been performed for Nawi at Kurtatchi, a much more 177
conservative village than Ruri, had it not been that the village was engaged in preparations for the *watawutʃ*, this involving modification of the first menstruation rite, since it is strictly taboo to 'go up bananas' under these circumstances. The following account of what actually took place is transcribed from my diary.

FIRST MENSTRUATION CEREMONY AS PERFORMED FOR NAWI

September 12, 1930. On my walk round the village this morning 159
I found all the women greatly excited, because it has just been
discovered that Nawi has started her first menstrual flux. This had 881
been anticipated for several months, and the women had often told me that it was sure to happen soon. They had been very much looking forward to it, and are very disappointed that the banana-palm ceremony cannot be held because the time is approaching for the holding of the *watawutʃ* ceremony.

All the older women went into the bush and gathered quantities [824]
of cordyline leaves, which they must wear tucked into cane girdles at their waists during the ceremony. Nawi remained in her mother's hut. Her friend Kiots, with whom she generally goes about, is staying in the hut with her. Kiots experienced her first period [565]
some months ago, but the banana-palm ceremony was not held for her because she is a commoner. She is keeping Nawi company now out of friendship, not ceremonially. The two little girls who are her official companions are Talewu and Beawon. Talewu is the *mani*. Talewu is the daughter of Poa, Nawi's father, by another mother, who is sister to Nawi's mother (by the same father but a different mother). Nawi calls Talewu *kiar* (sib of the same sex). It follows that Talewu belongs to the same clan as Nawi, viz. Naboin. But Beawon, who is not related to Nawi (there is no relationship term used between them), belongs to the other clan,
Nakarib. This is contrary to the information given me previously [183]
by Pari and other women, who said that the two little companions of the girl must belong to the same clan as herself. It would thus seem that in this, as in many other particulars, the rules are not strictly adhered to.

All the people of the village, men and women, members of both

both feet, hissing the while, in a series of jerks. (This is different 159
from the ordinary dance steps as performed by the women at other
times, and I did not see it done on any other occasion.) Some 881
women formed lines and danced together, some danced alone. 535
Nawi danced also. This went on for a long time.

September 17. Nawi can now walk about the village, but she 159
must not go to the taro garden nor do any work.

This state of things continued till 881

September 20. On this day Nawi went for the first time to fetch water, but she must not yet go to the taro garden.

On September 21 I was unfortunately obliged to leave the village for a few days. When I returned, Nawi was working as usual, but neither she nor any one else could tell me which day she first went to the taro garden. It was definitely more than ten days from the time of the first appearance of the flux.

As I went on my way I met a man from Baniu, who said he had 159
come to fetch Nawi and take her to Tendru, a village farther along 304
the coast, where there was to be a cicatrization ceremony, at which she would be 'cut', together with three other girls. I was invited to attend, but when I went to the village on the appointed day I found that Nawi had run away into the bush and refused to go, and her parents said they would not insist on her undergoing the operation. One of the other girls, from another village, had also run away, and a third was ill. Since only one candidate remained, the ceremony did not take place.

DETAILS OF MIXTURE USED IN NAWI'S FIRST MENSTRUATION CEREMONY

The following description of the preparation of roots and leaves 881
used for the drink which was shared on the third day of the pro-
ceedings was given me subsequently, by the men who made it. 272
These were three of the younger men of the village, Wasɛ, Tchub, 824
and Bwapip; they did it because Tchub knew the method of making it, having been taught by his mother and father (his father has been dead for some time, his mother is alive and resides in the village, but she did not superintend the preparation of the mixture). None of the men is related to Nawi, but all belong to the same clan. I 881
think, however, that this is not essential.

A stand must be made from the branches of a tree called *awitʃ*. 272
This is done by setting up four straight branches about 3 feet in 824
417

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

881 height, pushing them firmly into the ground (the floor of the hut)
272 to make the corners of a square. Cross-pieces are then tied on to
824 the four corner sticks for the sides of the square, and about a foot
417 from the top other pieces are fastened to these for the bottom.
This stand, when finished, is called *taraki*. It is lined with the leaves of the special kind of banana palm which is used in the full ceremony. All the women present must drink the special mixture from the *taraki* direct, drawing it up through a length of bamboo, but some of it is put into a *kōbū* and set aside for the men.

881 The mixture put into the *taraki* is called *anam*. It is made as
follows: Make a bundle containing portions of the root of a certain
272 tree, and scrapings from the bark of a number of others, whose
824 native names were given to me; I cannot give their botanical names,
but I know that they are all hard-timbered trees, and are chosen for the purpose of 'making the girl's belly strong', so that she will not menstruate again too soon. Add to these the scraped outer skin of the stem of a very tough bush creeper. Then take the young leaves of a number of aromatic plants, to make the mixture smell nice. Only the top of the plants, with fresh young leaves, must be used. Take also a piece of sugar-cane broken from the middle of the stalk. Pound up all the leaves to pulp by means of stones. Take a leaf of *tskō* (a large smooth-leaved plant constantly used for wrapping up packages of food, both for carrying and for cooking purposes), and lay the pounded pulp on it, then take the rest of the ingredients previously mentioned, and lay them on top of the pulp. Sprinkle a quantity of the red powder called *owan* over the whole.

This mixture is prepared beforehand. At the time of the ceremony, the bundle is opened a little, and a hole is made in the bottom of it. One man holds it over the *taraki*, and then over the *kōbū* which the men will drink out of, while another pours coco-nut milk through the package into these receptacles. The coco-nuts must be young, with the meat still soft (*mayur*). Then some which have a little firmer meat (*wisi*) must be cut; their milk is also poured through the package. Then comes the milk of coco-nuts which are nearly ripe (*wakamitskoma*), which is not considered palatable in the ordinary way. Finally the meat of a ripe (dry) coco-nut (*makas*) is scraped and squeezed through a piece of coco-nut fibre; the expressed oil is added to the mixture. One man holds the package, one holds the piece of fibre, another brings and manipulates the coco-nuts. By thus pouring the milk of coco-nuts through

the mixture, the good properties of the leaves and roots, &c., are 881
supposed to be carried into the liquid which runs into the *taraki*
and the *kōbū*. This liquid is of a red colour, owing to the *owan* 272
(impure iron oxide) which was plentifully sprinkled over the package 824
before the coco-nut milk was poured through. It tastes bitter,
probably because of the *owan*, since the liquid, being cold, could
hardly act as an infusing agent during the short time it is in contact
with the leaves and roots in the package, so as to acquire any
properties from them.

When sufficient liquid has been poured through, the package is 881
fastened up again and placed in the rafters of the hut over the fire.
Two immature coco-nuts (*kukuts*) are put beside it. It must dry 272
well in the smoke. This is another precaution to 'harden the girl's 841
belly' to prevent her from menstruating again too quickly. When 842
the girl sleeps with her husband for the first time, her mother takes
down the package and the coco-nuts, and slashes the two immature
coco-nuts open; this represents the 'opening of the girl' in order
that she may become pregnant. The package and the coco-nuts
are then thrown away into the sea by the mother, who must take
care that the current carries them away immediately. This removes
their restraining influence over the girl's flow of blood, so that she
will have plenty to make a child. If for any reason the girl's mother
considers that it is not desirable for her daughter to have a child
soon, the package and the coco-nuts are left in the rafters until
such time as pregnancy is desired.

The liquid which has been poured through the package into the 881
taraki and the *kōbū* must be tasted by all present. The women
drink from the *taraki* and the men from the *kōbū*. When every one 272
has had a taste the rest of the liquid is put by in coco-nuts for those
who are not present. A woman will save some for her husband,
and a man for his wife and children. Little girls who are *tsunaun* [565]
cannot drink; they must taste it for the first time when the
ceremony is performed on their behalf. Little girls who are commoners
get their share with the other people; none will be prepared for
them when they begin to menstruate. The coco-nuts in which the
mixture is carried to other huts must be carefully kept in the rafters
of those huts, and thrown into the sea at the same time as the
package of leaves and roots. The belts of coloured cane worn by 881
the girl during the period are rolled up and encased in a covering 292
of fibre, and placed with the other things in the rafters of her

145 841 confidence in the accuracy of this information, and merely give it as the best I could get. Menstrual disturbances would appear to be rare. Only one of the women I questioned on the subject admitted to pain at the period, but all were unanimous in voting it a nuisance, and nearly all said that they shortened its duration, or caused it to be omitted for one, two, or three months by taking some of the numerous medicines. They assured me that the omission was not followed by any harmful consequences.

841 ● 824 Eight different plants were brought to me as being useful for this purpose, and I think it likely that this list is far from complete. Unfortunately, most of them could not be identified from my pressed specimens. The following, however, are known to the authorities at Kew Gardens: *kakariuk* (*Selaginella flabellata*), *ſip-ſip* (*Pteris ensiformis*), *tatsir* (*Menispermacea*, variety indeterminable). The procedure is the same in every case. While the flow is in progress, the root is chewed with the betel-mixture; some of this mash is swallowed, the rest is spat on to the hand and rubbed over the abdomen, generally by the woman herself, but sometimes by another person. It is noteworthy that the purpose of all of these was expressly stated to be that of lessening the flow or shortening its duration. None was mentioned as useful in cases where menstruation is accompanied by pain, which supports the statement of the women that this condition is rare.

It does not seem likely that all of the plants which are supposed to control the flux do, in fact, possess any astringent or other properties which would render them effective as a uterine haemostatic, though some of them may do so. The only relevant analysis I have been able to find is that of a variety of *Menispermaceae* (*Jateorhiza palmata*), the root of which contains columbin, berberine, and columbic acid. This is used in Africa and in India as a cure for dysentery and other affections of the bowels, and in Europe as a tonic (Dymock, p. 18).

It is easy to understand the woman's dislike of a lengthy menstrual period, especially as, apart from the inconvenience, it involves her in several irritating taboos. She must not prepare food for any man, including her husband, which means that she has to arrange for some one else to cook his meals. She must not go to work in the taro garden; if she did, pigs would eat the taro plants and the crop would be poor. She must not go in a *mon* (plank canoe) or a storm would arise and the canoe would capsize. She must not go

2. *Flesh food*

262 Pig (*gū*)
Opossum (*mani*)
Flying fox (*tsūbak*)
Small variety of bat (*pupūtū*)
Iguana (*biro*)
Frogs, several kinds (generic term *kūra*) and tadpoles (*boboi*)
Insects of grasshopper species (*koka*)
Large white grub found in decaying wood (*pa'oa*)
Many kinds of birds (generic term *nōwan*)

3. *Sea food*

Many kinds of fish (generic term *ien*)
Many kinds of shell-fish (generic term *kesa*)
Crabs (generic term *kuri*)
Turtles (*gurut*)
Sharks (*kes*) (occasionally)

NOTES ON THE LIST OF FOODSTUFFS

1. *Vegetables, nuts, and fruit*

262 Taro (*Colocasia esculenta*, or *antiquorum*) may be considered the
244 staple food, since no meal, whatever else is included, is complete without it, and it will, if necessity arises, suffice for a meal by itself. But most people are not contented unless they have either fish or flesh as a relish (*kabu* or *warit*) to eat with it. Its cultivation occupies a very large proportion of the working time of both men and women, the men in clearing and fe[illegible], the women in planting, weeding, and gathering. Many varie[illegible] taro are known, differentiated by the colour of the tubers, or of the stalks or leaves, not according to taste or properties. One woman gave the names of twelve varieties in her garden, showing me each in turn from a heap she had just gathered, and pointing out their special characteristics. She said there were many more which she had not got in her garden.

137 The giant caladium, very similar in appearance to the cultivated
● 824 taro, except that it grows much taller, and that its leaves are much larger, grows wild in the bush. It is known as *wiar* ('bush taro').
[293] Its tubers are never eaten. The leaves attain a length of several feet, and are often used by the natives as umbrellas.

251 The women bring up each day from the taro garden only enough to last till the next day, or at most for two days. Probably because this quantity is as much as a woman can carry, no attempt is made to maintain a surplus store, although the tubers would keep for some time. One day the women could not go to the taro garden because some business connected with the *upi* made it dangerous

252 The methods previously described are those of preparing taro
for ordinary everyday consumption, and are all in the hands of the
462 women. Besides these, there is another method of preparation,
which is considered of great importance. This is the making of
menak, which may be described as 'ceremonial pudding', as it is
not made as part of an ordinary meal, but only for use in a prescribed
manner on special occasions. The making of *menak* involves
the expenditure of a considerable amount of time and trouble.
Because of its ceremonial character, it is exclusively in the hands
of the men, women taking no share either in the preparation or in
252 the cooking. The method of making it is as follows: Taro tubers
in sufficient quantity are peeled and boiled. When they are soft
[415 they are taken out of the pot, and put a few at a time into a large
flat wooden tray made for the purpose (*kōn*), and are pounded with
412] a wooden pounder, which is usually nothing more elaborate than
a stout stick the end of which has been carefully stripped of its
● [824] bark. If no *kōn* is available, a dish made of the stiff sheath of the
areca-palm (*kōbū*) may be used instead. While some of the men
are busy pounding, others are scraping the meat of a coco-nut
which is riper than those used for drinking, the meat being now
hard and solid. The contained liquid is thrown away, or may be
given to the pigs; at this stage it is not considered fit for human
[412] consumption. The meat is scraped from the shell by means of
a serrated shell, fixed on to the end of a long board. Sometimes
the broad end of an old canoe-paddle is utilized for this purpose.
On one I brought home the shell is a species of cardium (see Pl. 38,
no. 9). The operator sits on this board, holding the projecting end,
fitted with its shell, between his knees. The scrapings fall into a
receptacle placed on the ground in front of him. When a large
quantity of coco-nut meat has been shredded, it is squeezed through
[415] a piece of coco-nut fibre (*ipoits*). A liquid resembling milk is the
result, this is poured into a native pot of oval shape with a lip at
each end (*kepa*, Pl. 61*a*, no. 3); the usual round ones are not used
for this purpose. The pot is put on a fire and kept on the boil until
the contents become very thick. This mixture is added to the
252 pounded taro, mixed well by stirring, and the resulting paste is
415 either made into balls by rubbing between the palms (Pl. 33), or,
more often, pressed into frames made of thin lathes of wood, about
an inch wide. These frames are then made up into a rectangular
package by wrapping them in banana leaves, and are placed in an

262 of the bush, bread-fruits were to be seen lying about on the ground in large quantities in various stages of rottenness, where no one had chanced to pass that way to pick them up.

222 The bread-fruits are obtained by climbing the tree and knocking
412 them down; those above hand reach are hooked off by jerking them from their stalks with a stick lashed, pointing backwards, on to the end of a long pole.

252 Bread-fruit is cooked by being laid on the top of a fire of sticks, directly exposed to the flames (Pl. 34). When the outer skin is completely charred, the inside is done to their liking. The blackened skin is scraped off with a black-lip oyster-shell knife, and the soft inside pulled to pieces with the fingers and eaten in great hunks.
[262] The large seeds it contains are very much relished. They may be eaten as they are, or cooked again by being laid in the embers, just as we roast chestnuts, which they strongly resemble both in look and flavour. Bread-fruit is never pounded or made into pudding.

262 Leaves eaten as vegetables. Although the taro plant is cultivated principally for the sake of the tubers, its leaves are also used as food. Other kinds of leaves, grown in the taro garden or wild in the bush, are likewise eaten, also the tender tips of some species of
252 bracken (*Pteris*). They are prepared by being boiled in pots with
● 824 water, generally sea-water, or with the addition of some sea-water, for the sake of the salt. When done, they look and taste not unlike
[263] spinach. In the mountains, where there is no pottery, they are
[323] cooked by being thrust into a length of bamboo, without water, the bamboo being then laid on the fire. As I know from experience, the resulting dish is both succulent and tasty. (I was told that pig, cut into small pieces, is also cooked in this way, but I did not see
[184 it done.) I have never seen this method of cooking in bamboo
439] without water in use among the coast natives, where it is not necessary since they can obtain, from the women of Malasang, pots in which to boil their food.

262 Nobody would deliberately cut down a coco-nut palm in order
252 to eat its heart, but if one is blown down, or has to be removed for any reason, the heart is hacked out and eaten with great enjoyment, either raw, or, more frequently, boiled like taro, in a pot lined with leaves.

262 There is a species of seaweed which can be obtained from the
[222] reef at low tide, which is eagerly sought for and eaten just as it comes from the reef, in spite of, or perhaps because of, its saltness.

Unfortunately, I omitted to bring home a specimen for identification. 262
It consists of tiny green globules, and looks not unlike a bunch of grapes in the earliest stages of formation. Guppy (1887, p. 89) mentions an alga, a species of *Caulerpa*, as being eaten with relish by the natives of Treasury Island, which from his description may be the same or perhaps an allied species.

There are some varieties of edible fungi; they are not cultivated 262
or made objects of special search, but if seen in the course of a 222
journey through the bush, will be gathered and taken home. I
cannot find in my notes any reference to the method employed in
cooking them. Most of the fungi growing in the bush are avoided [824]
and are thought to be poisonous.

By far the most important of all the nuts available, and in the 262
front rank of their foodstuffs, is the coco-nut. The meat, especially that of the nuts in the green stage, when it is soft and creamy, is a permanent stand-by as an article of diet, and at a later stage it
is used in making ceremonial pudding. The cool sweetish liquid 272
inside a green nut provides a most refreshing drink, which, fortunately, can be obtained all the year round. The nuts are procured 222
by climbing the trunk and knocking them down. Climbing is 481
assisted by tying a bit of fibre round the feet, which then grasp the trunk, the body is supported by the grip thus obtainable, while both hands reach up as far as possible, grasp the trunk above the head, and pull the body up towards them, till the knees are bent so as nearly to touch them, the feet then taking another hold. Men and women, boys and girls, are all very skilful at doing this, but
the older men send the small boys up if there are any about. The 252
nuts are opened in this way: the outer sheath is removed by impaling it on a stick sharpened to a point and stuck in the ground at a suitable angle. Having removed this outer covering, the opener takes a trade knife, and with two or three sharp taps, cuts off a
piece of the top of the shell as we slice the top off a boiled egg. [272]
The liquid is then drunk straight from the nut. If there is no knife
handy, two of the 'eyes' will be pierced with a stick or sharp stone, but drinking is then a much slower process, and the other is preferred.

Canarium almonds are esteemed a great delicacy, and the time 262
when they are ripe is eagerly anticipated. This is one of the few 222
products that are not available all the year round. During the time of my residence, the first nuts were brought in on May 14, and the

in the canarium almond, since it occurs in the European almond. 146
If taro (a species of *Colocasia*) may be compared to dasheen
(*Caladium colocasia*), it probably supplies A, B, and C, but only
in small amount.

I regret that I did not pay more attention to the daily quantity 261
of food consumed. In times of ceremonial feasting it is very greatly
increased, especially as regards flesh foods. At such times every
one eats to satiety, and the feast is considered eminently successful
if a quantity of food is left over to lie rotting on the ground at its
close. A typical meal for a man under ordinary circumstances 262
might consist of five or six medium-sized taro tubers and one or 146
two small fish, the other items appearing occasionally. The enormous
preponderance of taro, which is the groundwork of every
meal, would, one may suppose, result in an excess of carbohydrates
in the diet,[1] but it is noteworthy that 'carbohydrate is the best
material to have on hand for muscular activity', and that it is 'from
the point of view of physiological economy, the most economical
food' (Hutchison and Mottram, '33, p. 58). The protein content
of the ordinary everyday meal is rather low, and there is probably
a deficiency in the amount of fat provided, which perhaps accounts
to some extent for the relish with which lumps of pig's fat are
consumed when available.

While on a journey into the mountains of the Kunua district, 177
starting some twenty miles down the west coast, I saw a patch of
maize. I was told that it had originally been planted by some men 243
who had brought it back with them on their return from working
as indentured labourers. The coast people do not cultivate it, but
they might well do so, as Mrs. Hadden was quite successful in her
attempts to grow it on her plantation, proving that local conditions
are not unsuited to it. In view of the high nutritive value and
vitamin content of maize it might be of some benefit to the natives
if facilities for obtaining seed could be provided for them; they
might then be induced to cultivate and use it as a regular addition
to their diet.

It is worthy of note that though the sago-palm grows in this 137
district in considerable numbers, its leaves being much in demand 824

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[1] Maiden (1889, p. 18) gives the following analysis, taken from a descriptive catalogue of the Japanese exhibits at the Health Exhibition, London, 1884: Albumen 1·427; Fat 0·080; Glucose 0·120; Starch 10·400; Pectose, &c. 1·154; Ash 0·987; Water 85·202.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

137 for thatching huts, yet these people do not normally use the pith
824 to make into sago such as is eaten by natives of other parts of the Pacific (Codrington, 1891, p. 320). They neither ate nor prepared
146 any sago while I was with them, and on my questioning them about
262 it said it was eaten only in times of scarcity, when the taro crop had failed. Their distaste for it in normal times is probably due partly to the trouble of preparing it, but also perhaps to the fact that they have already a more than sufficient supply of starch, of which sago contains a high percentage.

In general it seems justifiable to say that the diet of these people is not seriously defective either in quality or in quantity. From the standpoint of our own eclectic taste, it is somewhat lacking in variety, but this does not seem to trouble the native overmuch, although he is quick to appreciate unaccustomed additions, such as canarium almonds, when they are available. It will be noted that under the climatic conditions here obtaining, where the staple foods can be procured all the year round, the comment made by Dr. Richards (1932, p. 164) in discussing this question—that the diet of the savage, though monotonous during any one season, is subject to the most drastic changes, not only in quantity but also in quality, in the course of the year—hardly applies. The quality of the food of the Bougainville native remains approximately the same throughout the year; the quantity varies, not regularly with the seasons but sporadically with the occurrence of ceremonial occasions, during which, if at no other time, he gets as much to eat as his heart could wish for, and more than his stomach can conveniently hold.

WATER-SUPPLY

312 The villages in the mountains are well supplied with excellent water from streams, but the water-supply constitutes a very real problem in the case of the coast villages of N. Bougainville, except those fortunate enough to be situated near the mouths of the few rivers which run to the sea on the north coast. These are confined to its eastern portion. The people of the western part of the north coast are dependent upon the small pools which are found sporadically in the bush, and this supply they share with dogs, pigs, tadpoles, decayed matter, and all the other denizens of stagnant water in deep shade. A certain amount of decidedly brackish water can also be obtained by digging holes on the shore at low tide, to catch

the seepings which run down the cliffs and percolate through the 312
sand towards the sea.

It is the duty of the women, particularly the younger women and 462
girls, to bring in the water in the morning and again about sunset
(Pl. 36*b*). It is carried in coco-nut shells cleaned out for the purpose 415
through one of the eyes. The outside of such shells is often polished 824
by continual rubbing, and may be ornamented with seeds or shells
stuck in with the 'putty nut'. They are always carefully rinsed
before being filled. The hole is plugged with a stopper (*pipip*)
made of a smooth leaf (of the plant called *gartan*) by folding it in
an ingenious manner round the finger and tucking the ends in.
These water-containers (Pl. 36*a*) are called *ruin*; the same word
is used for fresh water generally and also means a stream. They
are never used for sea-water, which is usually transported in lengths
of bamboo (Pl. 37*a*). I have known men from the mountains walk
many miles to the sea in order to fill as many of these bamboos [317]
as they could carry back with them, this being their only means of
obtaining salt.

Ten or a dozen water coco-nuts will carry home the family's 312
supply for the day. Not much of it is expended on personal cleanliness,
but I have sometimes seen babies being washed by having [515]
the contents of one of the coco-nuts poured over them. Most of 272
it is used for cooking, chiefly for boiling taro. These people do not, [854]
as a rule, drink at meal-times, but will take a draught from one of 271
the coco-nuts some little time after eating. Water will sometimes
be carried to the taro gardens for consumption in the course of the [252]
day's work, but the liquid from a green coco-nut is more often
drunk on such occasions, being usually obtainable in the locality.
One could not want a more refreshing drink, since the shell and
the thick outer sheath keep the liquid cool under the hottest sun.
On the whole they seem to drink comparatively little, especially
considering the heat of the sun and the starchiness of much of their
food. If a person is thirsty while walking through the bush, and 824
cannot obtain coco-nuts, he will search for a special kind of plant 272
with a leaf similar to that of a banana, the native name of which is 137
oban. It grows in clumps, a number of rather thin stems close
together. Their colour is greenish streaked with brown. By making
a vertical slit in one of these stems a spurt of watery liquid will be
obtained, with which, by putting the mouth close to the cut,
thirst can be most refreshingly assuaged. There is another taller 137

137 tree, also known generally as 'bush banana', of which the native name is *wirtsun*; the liquid contained in this is not good for drinking. Its trunk is black, much thicker, and consists of a single stem only. Neither *oban* nor *wirtsun* produces edible fruit, except for parrots.
● [324] The leaves of the former, but not the latter, are frequently used to cover cooking-pots in which taro, &c., is being boiled.

273
656 No fermented drink of any sort is manufactured, and fortunately the natives have no access to European intoxicants, traders and planters being forbidden by the Government to supply them with beer or whisky, on pain of heavy penalties. Their comments on the behaviour of drunken white folk are not flattering

MEALS AND MANNERS

264 Two meals a day are generally prepared, one in the morning, before setting out for the day's activities, and one at dusk, after returning from the taro garden, the bush, or the fishing grounds. There is much impatience if food is not immediately forthcoming when wanted. *'To to met a bios!'* is the exact equivalent of our 'I am dying of hunger!'

512
264
262
252 They begin their day at sunrise, but they do not immediately eat their meal. They will sit or stroll about in the sun, enjoying its warmth before it rises high enough to become uncomfortably hot. At their leisure the women prepare some taro, either by putting some on to boil or by uncovering the oven where it has been cooking slowly all night. Fish are often eaten cold, having been cooked the day before and put aside wrapped up in leaves, or they may be heated on the embers. A typical meal which I shared with them at this time of day consisted of boiled taro, a quantity of small shell-fish, boiled, the water in which these had been cooked, and two kinds of bananas, one boiled and the other roasted on hot stones.

512
264 After taking their time over this meal they disperse to their several devices, taking with them some cold taro in a coco-nut-leaf basket, to eat at intervals during the day or during rest intervals en route if they are going a journey. Any taro still remaining will be put into a similar basket and hung up in the rafters of the hut, where any member of the household can help himself whenever he feels inclined.

The second meal of the day is considered the principal one. The women set about preparing it as soon as they come back from

276

be obtained from white men, which is a kind of plug twist, mixed [249
with molasses, and made up into sticks about 6 inches long. The 439]
same word (*wuruts*) is used for both native and trade tobacco.
Portions of stick-tobacco are twisted off and crumbled, and are
smoked either in pipes or in the form of cigarettes, made of any
kind of paper that happens to be available. The newspapers sent
to me from home were in great demand for this purpose. I once
gave a man a half-sheet of the *Observer*, and was amused to see
him roll it obliquely into a cigarette of enormous length, which he
smoked with great satisfaction, to the envy of the onlookers, and
somehow succeeded in keeping alight. The height of smoking
luxury, however, consists in a tin of Capstan and a packet of cigarette
papers. When they have no tobacco they will pick up a piece of
smouldering wood from a fire, crush it into their pipes, and smoke
it with apparent content. They like to mix with their tobacco [824]
a resinous gum (*tagon*) collected from the trunk of the canarium
almond.

Pipes are made in certain villages where a suitable supply of 276
clay can be obtained. One man on Petats was considered especially 323
skilful. He got his clay from the neighbourhood of a river on the
island of Buka. It appears to be similar to that used for pottery-making on the opposite side of the island. The work is usually
done inside the hut, so that the clay will not dry too quickly. The
bowl is shaped in the finger, and the stems are moulded round
a thin cane which is then pulled out. The pipes are baked by being
laid in the embers of an ordinary house fire. They are also made in [184
some of the villages on Bougainville, especially in the Kunua district, 438]
but not in any of those on the north coast, the people of which
obtain them by barter. In the Kunua villages I saw some with [531]
patterns incised on the bowls, but as a rule those in common use
have plain bowls, with slight differences of shape in the projecting
piece at the bottom. The length of the stems varies a little, but is
generally not more than 3 or 4 inches.

CHEWING THE BETEL-MIXTURE

Just as universal as the habit of smoking is that of areca-nut 276
chewing (*gas*), which begins perhaps even earlier, since babies
a few months old are given the husks of the areca-nut to suck.
I have seen a man spit his mouthful into the hand of a child aged
perhaps six, who chewed it for a while and then transferred it to

workers often erect temporary shelters (*tanū*) of banana leaves on the spot and remain there for weeks at a time, thus saving themselves the long walk to the garden in the morning and back again at night. They bring down a minimum of household goods, a sleeping-plank and a cooking-pot, and often do not trouble to construct more than a roof and a back to their shelter. 244 343

In the olden days, when stone implements were the only tools available, large trees were brought down by burning them at their base. Now that trade axes and knives can be obtained the trees are felled a few feet from the roots, leaving the stumps standing. Trees with a food value, such as canarium almonds, are always spared. The undergrowth is cut down and left lying where it falls till it is dry; eventually it is made into large heaps and burned, except for the thick stems of the bush banana plants which contain so much moisture that they will not burn. These are arranged in orderly piles, kept in place by stakes on each side, and left to rot. 412 177 244 313

In the ordinary way taro is planted as a routine matter without any ceremonial attaching to the operation. But there are certain 'medicines' which may be used if desired. Some of these are the sole prerogative of the women, some may be used by both sexes. I have a considerable number of these 'prescriptions' in my collection, some of the more interesting run as follows: 244 824 [562]

Barusiē (*Eranthemum* sp.).

Chew scrapings from the roots of this plant with the betel-mixture, spit on hand, rub shell-knife with which taro stalk is trimmed before planting, and knife (trade) with which ground is weeded. Rub also on taro. Your taro will be good when other people's is bad. Used only by women. [562]

Mager (a mixture, described on p. 475).

Chew some *mager* with betel-mixture. Spit it on to a piece of stick which grew in the taro garden, then spit on the cut end of the stalks that are to be planted, and say: '*Ar wenyas nor ë mil so nats tʃan.*' 'You and I spit on the taro, now it is large.' Used only by women. [562]

Tʃuk (plant unidentified).

Chew roots with *mager* and betel-mixture. Spit on hand, rub on stalk of taro before planting. After doing this a man must not go fishing, and a woman must not go to the shore or hunt for shell-fish on the reef. If this prohibition is not kept the taro leaves will shrivel and dry up. The time during which it is observed was not to be ascertained.

The leaves of a plant (nets)

and another (*korowin*) were cut up into small pieces and put on 244
these fires. [These leaves give rise to a dense smoke which spreads
all over the ground. It is intended to drive away the *urar* who 796
might wish to do harm to the taro when it is planted. The smoke 824
of the *nets* blinds them so that they cannot see the taro. The
smoke of the *korowin* is directed against pigs, it blinds them so
that they will not be able to get into the garden and spoil the
taro. This is intended as a protection against possible disaster in
the future, since there is at this stage in the proceedings no taro
on the site or anywhere near it. No other fires may be lit on or
near the taro garden on that day.]

In the middle of each plot a stick between 2 and 3 feet high was 244
set up and half a dry coco-nut shell balanced on the top of it. The 796
taro, when planted, will look up at the coco-nut on the top of its
stick and will try to grow up tall so as to hide it.

In the village a number of men were busy making ceremonial pudding. One package was made especially large, 5 to 6 feet long, a foot broad, and a couple of inches thick.

The next day the village rose in great excitement, the climax of
a growing tension which had been evident for some days. (There
had been a *kōma* almost every night for about a week before.) The [302]
people cut and combed their hair, and covered their heads with
black paint. Some of them also put paint on their faces, outlining
the forehead with white and putting red dots or streaks on their
cheeks and red on their ears.

Matēv, the woman of most importance in the village, carried the [554]
packages of ceremonial pudding down to the garden, a distance of
about three miles. I accompanied her. When we arrived several [437]
other women pulled up a quantity of taro from another garden in
the neighbourhood and went off to Tarongen to barter it, by
appointment, with the women of Saposa for half-smoked fish to
use as a relish, the occasion not being of sufficient importance to
warrant the killing of pigs.

Other women brought down some specially selected taro stalks [437]
which had been obtained several days before, in exchange for pots,
from the women of Baniu, where the soil is said to be better and
the taro finer. All the taro stalks were laid out in piles in a shady
place, and the tubers carefully cut off with black-lip oyster-shell 244
knives. The stalks were then left heaped up in the shade for the 824
time being. On top of the heaps were placed bundles of *ōts*, a plant 796

244 with jagged red and yellow leaves, which is always planted in the
824 taro garden and is supposed to have the effect of making the taro
796 grow well. Cordyline plants are frequently put there also for the
same purpose.

244 Meanwhile the men were cutting poles about 4 to 5 feet long,
scraping off the bark top and bottom, and sharpening one end.
796 These are called *isō* and are used to make the holes in which the
412 taro stalks are planted. They form the only actual agricultural
343 implement used in this district, since the trade knives used for
clearing bush and weeding serve also a multitude of other purposes. When each man had been provided with one of these the men all went off to the new garden and put up a shelter in the middle of it, over part of the path which ran down its whole length. The shelter consisted merely of poles stuck in the ground with a layer of banana leaves laid across them, but it served to shade a small patch of ground where the *ēto* (medicine) could be prepared, and where food could be eaten away from the heat of the sun. The large packet of ceremonial pudding was laid under this shelter, together with bundles of leaves required for the 'medicine'. The food was consumed at intervals in the course of the day's work.

244 Pinari had gone off in the early morning to look for some special
796 leaves in the bush. When he returned, all the men, but no women
[562] —except myself, by special invitation—collected round the shelter.
The women remained outside the garden, beside the heaps of taro stalks.

[415] One of the men made a receptacle (*kōbū*) by twisting up and
tying the ends of the thick fibrous sheath of the areca-palm. This
244 he handed to Pinari, who put inside it an old *kōbū* containing a
796 mixture of red dust and scraps of dried leaves. This mixture was
not prepared on the spot, it had been obtained a long time ago from an ancestor of Pinari's living at another village, and is very highly valued. It is kept in Pinari's chief hut, and had been brought down, carefully wrapped in banana leaves, earlier in the morning. The mixture is called *tama'uŋ*. Pinari knows how to make it, but
he would have to obtain some of the materials from a distance.
[868] Before he dies he will teach the secret to his sons. He told me
later that the mixture consisted of scrapings from the roots and leaves of a number of plants, which I was not able to identify, some of them not found locally. These are mixed with a quantity of *magor*. The mixture thus prepared is kept for use as required,

but other ingredients must be added just before the ceremony 244
takes place. 796

Into the mixture in the *kōbū* Pinari scraped a small quantity of the red powder called *oin*, which was handed to him in two halves of coco-nut shells. Then, with an air of mysterious dignity which clearly indicated that the action was one of great importance,
he produced from the folds of his loin-cloth a very small piece [823]
of stone, which looked like some volcanic substance containing
sulphur. He scraped a very little of this into the mixture, which, he said, already contained some of it, and then carefully folded the
remainder into his loin-cloth again. This stone is called Mumariria. 244
The large stone from which the fragment was taken is at Soamets, 796
a place about twenty miles down the coast to the east. [The stone 778
lies on the edge of a little river where the mangroves grow. It
belongs to the Nakarib clan, some members of which are in 423
especially close association with it. One of these was a Soamets 433
woman, now dead, called Mariria. If Pinari's sister's daughter, Rus, should bear a girl child, she will be called Mariria, and will inherit the special association with the stone from her namesake. If a man belonging to any other clan goes near it, the stone 'fights him' and he dies. If men from another village want to buy some of the stone to make 'medicine' for their own taro, Pinari sells them a piece off the back of the stone, which is no good, and will not make the taro grow. But when he wants it for himself he takes it from the front of the stone, then it is very powerful medicine.]

After adding the Mumariria, Pinari called for water, which was 244
brought in coco-nut shells. The contents of three of these were 796
emptied into the mixture, which Pinari then stirred round with his hand.

Meanwhile the other men had been cutting small pieces of 244
wood, each about 4 inches long, carefully measured against one 796
another so that they should be of the same length. There were 824
two kinds of wood, *kunis* and *tario*. The essential thing is that both these are hard wood, and so will cause the taro stalks to grow strong. If sticks of soft wood were used the taro stalks would be rotten and would stink. One piece of each kind was tied up in a bundle with two leaves of *korowin*, one leaf from a variety whose leaves are all green, the other from a kind whose leaves are green on the upper side and red underneath. The stalks of these leaves were

244 left sticking out of the bundle. A number of these bundles were
prepared and handed to Pinari one by one. He dipped each into
796 the *kōbū* containing the 'medicine' and smeared them with its
•824 contents, and then gave them back to the men, who went up the
garden planting one beside each of the sticks holding up the coconut shells, which stood in the centre of each plot of ground. Several men took part in this procedure, there seemed to be no prerogative about it. These bundles watch over the taro and cause its stalks to grow strong.

While this was being done Sobak made a little fire of small sticks just outside the shelter, on which he very carefully placed some bits of cooked taro. These were for the *urar* who were presently to be called upon.

All this time the women had remained outside the taro garden. They were now called in by Pinari and came up in single file, each with an enormous bundle of taro stalks on her back. They went up through the cleared patch, leaving a bundle of taro stalks beside each plot, laying them out carefully and propping them up against the logs which outlined the plots.

While this was going on one of the men, Watchiu, was receiving each man's digging pole, dipping it into the *kōbū*, smearing the mixture over it with his hands and giving it back again. He is a commoner, not one of the older men, nor a person of any particular importance, and no reason was given for his undertaking this part of the procedure except that he had expressed his willingness to do so. Each man, as he received his digging pole, put it on his shoulder and went off up the ground. They divided themselves among the different plots and stood ready to make the holes in which the taro stalks were to be planted.

Then Pinari took a bundle of leaves tied up together. These
were the special leaves which he had gone out early to collect.
824 The names of six different kinds were given to me; they are chosen
because they are all leaves of plants which grow quickly, the idea being that the taro plants will follow their example and hasten their own growth. The bundle was laid inside the *kōbū* containing the prepared mixture, with the stalks outside.

Then Pinari's favourite wife, Kwimau, came and took up the *kōbū*. They both went up the taro ground, Pinari in front, Kwimau following close behind him. At the bundle of taro stalks which had been left at the farthest plot he stopped, took the bunch of the natives to get a price for it in any way commensurate with the 247 labour involved, and there seems but little future for the industry, as far as they are concerned. The attention given to the native [439] coco-nut groves is chiefly confined to clearing up a little now and then, young palms being allowed to come up where the nuts happen to fall. They are a characteristic feature of most beach scenes, overhanging the shore in picturesque confusion, pleasanter to look at, and easier to climb, but less productive than those which stand in orderly ranks of straight trunks on a white man's plantation. Once in a while, especially after a reprimand from the District Officer, there is a sudden burst of activity, in which everybody sets to work clearing away the undergrowth which covers the roots, and tearing down the parasitic and other creepers which festoon the branches. The casual way in which the native treats his coco-nut palms is all the more noticeable in contrast to the meticulous care which is lavished on the taro garden, where, of course, neglect would result in the complete absence of a crop. Similarly, in contrast to the many 'prescriptions' connected with the cultivation of taro, I know of only one directed towards the improvement of the coco-nut palm. A possible reason for this may lie in the fact that while the taro crop is precarious, depending largely on weather conditions, the coco-nut palm may be relied upon to produce a crop without much danger of its failing. The single 'prescription' known to me runs as follows:

Bariur (*Crinum asiaticum*).

Pound the roots of this plant and mix them with *oin*. Rub this [824] mixture on the trunks of the coco-nut palms. This will ensure that they will bear well.

Bananas

A great many varieties of edible banana are known and distinguished by name; the appearance and taste of each is familiar to most natives. A group consisting of two men and two women [192] *once gave me a list* of thirty-seven varieties at a sitting, with comments on them.

A certain amount of trouble is taken to cultivate many of these varieties. They are sometimes planted in clearings, made for the purpose, and sometimes amongst the taro or in a portion of the taro-garden reserved for them. When the young fruit has formed, the whole bunch is tied up in a bag made of coco-nut fibre.

maker was Riamɛ̄, the brother of Matɛ̄v. One day he wished very 791
much to accompany a party of us who were going to attend a wapi ceremony in a distant village. But Pinari said he must stay at home and make rain, because the taro was dying. So he did. It duly rained. He was teaching the procedure to his sister's son, Kakari, who would eventually take his place. Another man at Kurtatchi who had some reputation as a rain-maker was my next-door neighbour, Sobak. Both these men allowed themselves to be persuaded to let me into the secret, on my promising not to tell any of the other villagers. As the methods differ in certain important respects, and possess points of interest, the information obtained from both men is here given.

Rain-making as performed by Riamɛ̄.

Take five cleaned-out coco-nut shells. Pour some sea-water 789
into them. Scrape the skin of the roots of two kinds of *sisiŋ* (croton,
Codiaeum variegatum), and the root of *karawinoa* (*Acanthaceae*); 824
take also some of the leaves of *karawinoa*, and the leaves and root of *takuruts* (another croton). Add all these things to the salt water in the coco-nut shells. Then get some of the watery sap of the *wirtsun* (a species of wild banana, which has a thick stem from which liquid squirts when it is cut). Take also some fresh water. Shake it up with the water from the *wirtsun*, and fill up the coco-nut shells with the mixture. The coco-nut shells then contain salt water, fresh water, the sap of the wild banana, and scrapings from the roots and leaves of plants. The coco-nut shells must have lines of *oin* painted on them cross-wise. When you fill them, put two leaves of *ta'sin* (*Cordyline terminalis*) one on each side of the hole, and pour the liquid between them.

These coco-nut shells Riamɛ̄ kept covered with leaves, at the 1789
roots of a big banyan a little distance from the village. Some distance from them, on the other side of the village, he had a box containing about a dozen stones, varying from about 3 inches to about a foot in length, roughly elliptical in section, and smooth-surfaced, as if water-worn, but not, I think, worked by hand. Outside the box were three very large ones, the largest perhaps 2 feet high, standing up on end, leaning against the box (Pl. 41*a*). He said he had found the three large ones himself on the beach of one of the islands in the bay. The others belonged to his grandfathers, and the grandfathers of other men of his generation,

789 Bunabuoie, Bunasom, Bunasobak, all famous rain-makers in their
day. Beside the box containing these stones stood a kerosene tin
full of the mixture of salt water, fresh water, and sap with which
he filled the coco-nut shells, and another tin containing rain-water.

789 When he wants to make rain, he washes each of these stones
with rain-water, in which he has put the leaves of two plants,
●824 *tataboan* and *malias* (unidentified). He stirred up the tin to show
me the leaves at the bottom, and poured a little of the water out
and back again. As he did so there was a peal of thunder, which
he attributed to his having touched the water. It was, oddly
enough, the only peal that day. Having washed the stones, he
rubs them with the mixture of wet leaves. Then he fills up the
five coco-nuts, and puts them in a tree, resting them in one of the
topa (elk-horn ferns, which abound on the trunks of trees in this
region; their leaves are spread out into a kind of cup in which the
coco-nuts could be lodged safely). If you want wind as well as
rain, you choose a *topa* which is near the top of the tree, if you
want rain only, you choose one which grows low down. After five
days, come and take out the leaf stoppers of the coco-nuts. To
stop the rain, take down the coco-nuts, pour out all the water, put
back the leaf stoppers, and cover up the stones and other apparatus.

789 Riamē said he could not give me one of the stones, because they
431 belonged to the past, but he offered me one of the five coco-nut
shells with the mixture it contained. The gift was entirely spon-
taneous on his part; he said I could make rain with it in my own
country.

789 The place where the stones are kept is not hidden, but the other
people are afraid to go near it. Before I knew what the queer-
778 looking group of objects signified, I once, when walking near the
spot with some little boys, went towards it to see what it was. The
[753] boys, very scared, called to me to come away, or I would get boils
on my skin! So I did not pursue my investigations further at that
time. When I was taken there by the appropriate person, he was
most careful that no one should see us set out, and looked back
several times to make sure we were not followed.

789 This form of procedure has not yet been taught to Kakari, but
there is another method, not involving the secret of the stones, of
which he is in possession. Riamē learned it from the Amun people,
living some little distance away. Kakari has not yet become a very
successful rain-maker. He told me one day that he thought some

789 one who had a grudge against him was fastening the rain so that all his attempts should fail.

The first part of this second method is the same as that pre-
●[824] viously described, involving the mixing of fresh water, sea-water,
and the sap of the *wirtsun* stem. To this is added a substance called *aguiv*, which was described as something that is found in pools in the bush; I could not ascertain whether it was a weed or merely the scum that appears on stagnant water. This mixture is then poured into a large piece of bamboo or other convenient receptacle and shaken about. As it is shaken the rain will come down and the wind will rise. Then the bamboo with the water in it is hidden among the roots of a banyan tree, and the rain-maker goes back to the village.

789 After three days he takes some leaves of the plant called *massi*
824 (*Ocimum baselicum*), and a branch of the *tui* tree (a calophyllum).
He scrapes some of the bark and mixes it with the *massi* leaves. Some lime is sprinkled over both, and the rain-maker must then go to the sea, and, standing in the water, wash himself with this mixture. Then he comes back to the place where he left the bamboo with the water-mixture in it, takes out the leaf stopper used to cover the opening, and shakes the contents about. Immediately a strong wind will rise.

When he wishes the wind and rain to cease, he takes up the bamboo from the roots of the banyan tree and pours its contents away on the ground. He brings the bamboo back with him to the village, takes it into his hut, and covers it up with leaves. He chews the stalk of the *massi* plant and the fruit of it, with the betel-mixture. The mixture in his mouth he must spit out in the direction from which the wind and the rain are coming, and they will then cease.

Rain-making as performed by Sobak.

789 The following procedure I learned by asking Sobak to make rain for me on one occasion when my water supply was getting low. In point of fact rain did actually fall on the appointed day—being long overdue. He plumed himself greatly on this success. But it went on raining till the whole place was flooded, and when I asked him to make it stop, he said he couldn't, because a much more powerful rain-maker than he was making more rain in another place!

Sobak's method is as follows: When a man wishes to make rain,

789 he first walks slowly through the bush and collects all sorts of
different plants and puts them into a coco-nut shell with water.
He goes on and goes on and goes on, and collects more plants and
puts them in another coco-nut shell full of water. These he hides
somewhere in the bush where they will not be found by any one.
He climbs up a lot of trees to look for opossum. He must kill
plenty of opossum. He goes back home in the dark. No one must
see him as he goes; if any one does the rain will not come but
[824] the sun will go on shining. The same evening he gets some leaves
of the tree called *manasas* (a hard-timbered tree) and wraps up the
opossum in them. He puts the packets down under a stone on the
beach, and goes back home.

Next day he goes back, and takes out the packet of opossum from under the stone. He eats some of the opossum. Then he goes back to the bush and makes a fire. He puts some taro and a piece of opossum on the fire, and calls on all the *urar* appropriate for the making of rain, that is, the spirits of people who, when they were alive, were successful rain-makers. They are all men, since it is forbidden to a woman to know the procedure for rain-making. A dozen names of suitable *urar* were mentioned. They belonged to both clans. Some of them were 'grandfathers' (*tsubu-*, applied to a grandparent on either side and to any ancestor further back) of Sobak. The rain-maker may call upon as many as he wishes, in this manner: '*Bunasiken, en dı ma pit ni wamūts ia* (Bunasiken, you bring rain and make it come down). *Toras, en dı ma pit ni wamūts ia. Buntaderian, en dı ma pit ni wamūts ia*', and so on, till he thinks he has called on enough *urar* to produce the desired effect. Buntaderian was said to be the most important *urar* for rain-making.

789
824
Then the rain-maker gives the time when he wants the rain to fall, perhaps to-morrow, perhaps in three days, and so on. When the time comes, he goes again into the bush, pulls a leaf of the bush banana, and fills it with bits of the leaves of a large number of plants and trees, among them canarium almond, coral tree (*Erythrina*), coco-nut palm, and *tʃiniv* (the tree whose wood is used for making dug-out canoes). He gathers a quantity of aromatic plants and puts them in his hair and behind his ears, in his armlet and in his belt. He chews some of the mixture in the banana-leaf with the betel-mixture, spits the mixture on to the palm of his hand, and presses it on the skin of his arm. Then he will hear

789 824

the *urar* Kilok speaking up above (thunder), and the rain will fall.

When he wishes the rain to cease, he goes to the place where he hid the coco-nuts and empties out the water, then the rain will stop. 789

As is usual, Sobak, as a rain-maker, also knows the procedure for controlling the wind. The essential part of this is the same as that given me by Riamẽ and Kakari, i.e. the chewing of certain leaves with the betel-mixture and spitting it in the direction from which you wish the wind to come. But you must be careful not to spit too far or you will produce a wind so strong that it will blow down the houses and destroy all the canoes that are at sea. This is sometimes done on purpose, in order to injure some man against whom the rain-maker has a grudge.

The most important part of the rain-making procedure appears to be the filling of some receptacle with water, and pouring it out again. This occurs in all three of the methods here described. Furthermore, it happened that once, when I wanted to cross the bay at a time when a high wind was blowing, and Pinari told me to ask Riamẽ to fasten the wind for us, Riamẽ said he did not think he could, because he had given two of the coco-nuts away, one to me, and the other to a friend of his at Pororan, and had not yet prepared others to take their places.

It is quite certain that the rain-makers really believe in their powers, as do all the other natives. Since the rain-making ritual would not be carried out unless there had been some considerable period of fine weather, it is probable that rain follows more often than not, in view of the heavy rainfall of the country. This would, naturally, be looked upon as the result of their endeavours. On the other hand, as I experienced more than once, failures can easily be explained away by putting the blame on the more powerful magic of a rival.

HUNTING

Pig-hunting

224 411

The young men spend a great deal of time strolling in the bush with their dogs and spears, ostensibly for the purpose of catching bush pigs. The spear in use for this purpose is now usually a thin iron rod, but it may be still, as it used to be, of hard wood. No attempt is ever made to decorate these working spears, nor are they

224 789 the pile six times, and then struck once at random into the bush, after which he threw the stalk of cordyline away among the underbrush. The young men pounced on the nets shouting, and went off with them quickly. The man who had performed the ceremony went after them, and directed them where to put the nets. They were obviously hopeful and expectant, and, sure enough, the first time the nets were set up they were successful. But they caught no others that day, although they made several drives subsequently.

224 231 789 Dogs are an indispensable adjunct to pig-hunting, and are kept mainly for that purpose. A good hunting dog is very highly valued. There is an elaborate ceremony for making dogs good hunters, which was a speciality of Pinari, who sometimes paid visits to other villages for the purpose of performing it for the dogs of his friends. He learned it from a clansman at Baniu, now dead. The secret was imparted to him because pigs had been destroying the village taro-gardens, and their own dogs had proved ineffective. Pinari gave the details to his eldest son, Wasĕ, from whom I learned them, with Pinari's consent, the account being read to him and the details checked. As there are several points of interest in it, I give it in full, although it is somewhat lengthy. The ceremony is called *waʃip*.

Magic for making dogs hunt well.

231 789 ● 824 If you want to make this magic, you must first scrape some of the bark of the tree *managewan*.[1] While you are scraping it you must imitate the barking of a dog. Then scrape some of the bark of *nes*, and bark again like a dog. Then scrape the bark of *katʃan* (*Caryota* sp.?), and bark again like a dog. Then cut a twig of *bo* (*Leea* sp.) and part of the stem of *owor*, and the bark of *gunasgu*. Bring these to the village, and there scrape some of the bark of *owor*. Put all these leaves and scrapings into a *kōbū*, and put the *kōbū* into the boys' house. Then get areca-nut, the fruit of the betel-pepper (the leaves will not do), and lime. The lime must be freshly made and freshly powdered or it is no good. Chew the betel-mixture, and spit on the leaves and scrapings in the *kōbū*. This work is given to the smaller boys, the grown men do not chew at this time. Go on chewing till the *kōbū* is full.

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[1] Where the botanical names of the plants used are not given, they have not been identified.

In the early morning, as soon as you get up, catch one of the 231
dogs, force his mouth open, and fix it open with a stick of *bō*. Take 789
some of the mixture in the *kōbū* and smear the dog with it. Then take the dog to the beach, mix some sea-water with the contents of the *kōbū*, and make the dog drink some of it. Then put bits of the [824]
stalk of *karamusis* up the dog's nostrils and blow upon them. This makes the nostrils bleed freely, which clears the blood out of the dog's nose so that he can smell the pigs better.

When you have done this to all the dogs, go back to the village, into the men's house, taking the first dog with you, and make the dog eat some of the chewed betel-mixture, without any sea-water mixed with it. Then hold the dog by the tail and swing him round several times, inside the men's house. Treat all the dogs in this way.

This is all that is done on the first day.

Another day, scrape *katʃan* and *managewan*, and scrape some [824]
aroŋ (coco-nuts, the meat of which is hard and firm and the milk considered unsuitable for drinking). Take a piece of broken pot, put in the scraped coco-nuts and the bark of the two plants, and cook the mixture over the fire without adding any water to it. When it is ready, call for the dog who was treated first the day before, put some of the mixture into half a coco-nut shell, and make him eat it. Then do the same with the second dog, and so on till they have all eaten, in the same order as they were treated the first day.

This is the end of the work for the second day.

Next day, get up early and go and hunt pig. If the dogs kill one, tie it up, call out for men to come and carry it in, take it to the village and cook it in a pot (this is somewhat unusual, pigs are generally roasted). At the same time the women must cook plenty of taro. When the pig is ready, get some leaves of *gunasgu* and throw [824]
them into the pot. If this were not done, and if it happened that one of the men who shared the contents of the pot were newly [834
married, and had recently slept with his wife for the first time, or 843]
if any of them had a wife who was pregnant, the magic would not work, and the dogs would not be able to kill pigs. But if these leaves are put into the pot, a man in such a case can eat of it without any ill effects. Then all the men of the village eat the pig.

The next day, go out hunting with the dogs again, and kill another pig. Bring it home and cook it in the village, in a pot as before. This pig belongs to the women, who all eat of it. No

231 leaves are put into the pot this time, but if a pregnant woman or
789 one who is newly married eats of it, no harm is done.

The next day go hunting again, and kill another pig. Bring it back to the village and cut it up and send a piece of it to every house. Then each house cooks its share in an oven, with hot stones (the usual native oven). Everybody eats a piece of this pig.

If on any of these days the dogs fail to kill a pig, nothing more can be done on that day, but you must go out again the next day, and keep on hunting until they kill one.

The eating of the third pig by all the people of the village concludes the ceremony. But if after this the dogs are still not successful in hunting, stronger magic is tried. The bark of *managewan*
● [824] and *katʃan* are scraped again, and dry coco-nut meat cooked with it, and the dogs given the mixture to eat. But before they eat it, the fire is scattered, and the names of three *urar* are called aloud. These three are Pila, Wadi, and Tengnatchu, the names of men who in their lifetimes were good hunters. Then the dogs are made to eat the mixture. This is very strong magic, and after it has been done, when the hunter goes out, the dogs will go straight for a pig and kill him.

231 There is another kind of procedure, known to other men of the
village. It is much less elaborate, but none the less typical. It is
789 called *masaro*, and is performed as follows: Take the leaves of
824 *puroa* and mix them with water. This mixture may be prepared beforehand. When the ceremony is to be performed, a fire must be made, and the *kōbā* containing the mixture is passed round the fire (but none is spilled into it), while the names of certain *urar* who were once good hunters are called out: Garameaboa, Soawunum, Tawasing. Then the dogs must be made to drink the mixture. Another mixture is made with the leaves of the plant *tsu*, and given to the dogs in the same way. This is very strong and will make the dogs fierce. All the dogs must take some of both these mixtures. Then a stick of *karamusis* is thrust up each dog's nostrils; this will make him smell the pig.

It will be noted that *karamusis* is used for this purpose in both ceremonies, but that otherwise the plants required are different, as are also the names of the *urar*. Each person who specializes in this ceremony uses the names of dead relatives who have been good hunters, but without distinction of clan, since the son uses the same names as his father.

There are a number of variants of this procedure, current in different villages, but all having for their aim 'to make the dogs cross'. At the village of Tung I saw the lower jaw of a large marine creature with sharp teeth hanging on the wall of the men's house. I was told it was intended to be crushed up and mixed with the dog's food, so that they would 'get very cross and hunt well'. Another method involves putting special food for the dogs in an ants' nest, so that when the dog tries to eat it the ants bite him, 'then he gets very cross and is ready to chase pigs'. The word I have translated 'cross' is used of people in a bad temper, but I suppose in this case it means 'fierce'. 231 789

There is also a 'medicine' intended to act in the opposite way, i.e. to spoil a dog for hunting:

> If you want a dog and the owner won't give it to you, get some of the dog's excrement, put it in a coco-nut shell and bury it. Over the place where it is buried plant some of the plant called *wanis* (this word is used of several different plants, most of which seem to be varieties of *Eleusine*). When this grows tall the dog will not be good at hunting any more. [824] ●

Opossum hunting

[The Cuscus opossum, or phalanger (Pl. 41*b*).]

Opossum are hunted chiefly by boys and the younger men. 224

The method is to peer about in the foliage till one is seen curled up on a branch, or to track the animal to its hole, and then to climb the tree and pull it out (Fig. 10). If it has gone in so far that it cannot be reached, the tree will often be felled. Quite large trees are sometimes felled for the sake of one opossum, but as most of them are soft-timbered varieties, this task is not as arduous as it might appear. The boys like to go hunting for opossum at night, using torches made of coco-nut palm leaves with their fronds folded into a bunch and tied together. I used to be invited to accompany the party, with the proviso that I should bring my 'shoot-lamp' (pidgin-English for 'electric torch'). The light not only serves to locate the opossum, but also to dazzle it, when it is likely to fall down and be seized by the dogs. The hunters try to drive the animals by shouts and by making a noise with a leaf adjusted between finger and thumb, which is then smacked sharply with the other hand. [198]

There are various 'medicines' which are used to aid the hunter, 224

224 their object being to make his eyesight keener so that he can locate his quarry. They are all similar to the following:

224 *Kuriwɔrots* (a creeper with a thick juicy stem)

● 824 Press out the sap from a piece of the stem, and rub it on your face round your eyes before you start out. This will make you see well.

[532]

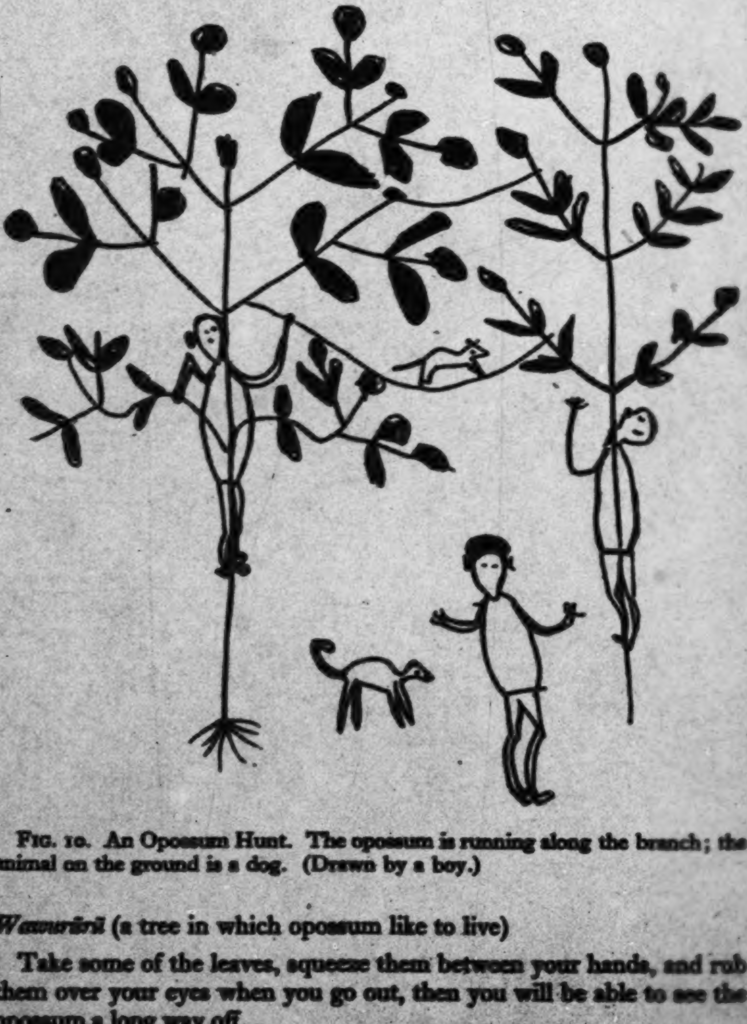

Fig. 10. An Opossum Hunt. The opossum is running along the branch; the animal on the ground is a dog. (Drawn by a boy.)

Wawarīrī (a tree in which opossum like to live)

Take some of the leaves, squeeze them between your hands, and rub them over your eyes when you go out, then you will be able to see the opossum a long way off.

their time in securing it, but the methods employed by men and women are, for the most part, distinct and separate, the latter confining themselves to the reefs and rock pools and the shallow water close inshore. The Buka men will venture some distance out into the open sea in the hope of getting a good catch, but the Kurtatchi people do not care to go too far away from the shore, even after the much-prized bonito. 226

As is to be expected in a matter of so much importance, there is a great deal of magic associated with fishing. The various kinds of 'medicine' are considered appropriate to special methods, and will be discussed in reference to these. I do not know of any which is applicable to fishing in general. There are also magical ways of calming the sea before starting out. Of these the following is typical:

> Chew the root of *pai'ukes* (*Pennisetum macrostachyum*) with the betel-mixture, and spit it on to the mid-rib of a coco-nut-palm leaf. Plant this leaf on the shore just where a big wave will reach it. The wave will then go back and calm the sea. [824]

The principal methods of fishing practised in this area will now be discussed in some detail.

Bonito fishing

Of all their fishing activities, by far the most important, in the estimation of these people, is bonito fishing. The bonito (*Sarda* sp.) is called *atŭn*, a word current throughout all the dialects in this area, and clearly the same as the Polynesian word *'atu* used in Samoa (Hiroa, 1930, p. 124). Near every village along the coast there is a small clearing at a high point, from which a view over the open sea can be obtained. Here a look-out is kept, somewhat spasmodically, for the splashing of water and the circles of sea-birds which mark the presence of a shoal of bonito in pursuit of the small fish (*soobot, iŏ, talĕ, osa, manbul*) on which they feed. As soon as any one sees these signs he raises a characteristic yell, which is heard at no other time. The sound instantly sends all the available men and boys in the village scurrying to the place where the canoes are kept. They launch with all speed, and paddle hard to catch up with the shoal before it gets too far away. More often than not they seem to come home empty-handed, but if any fish [192] [202]

227 283 the point, and the string is twisted round these also, for greater security.

227 321 The point is made of turtle-shell, generally of the 'green-back' variety, which is not scarce. I do not remember ever having seen a point made of anything else. The variety of shapes and curves can best be seen from the photographs of specimens I collected, but it is not apparent from the photograph (Pl. 42) that there is a series of grooves, three as a rule, on the back of the point near its place of attachment to the shank, round which the lashing is twisted. The hook has no barb. It is pointed out by Hiroa (1930, p. 508) that 'where every second is of importance . . . a barbed hook would be a drawback and not an advantage'.

227 The hooks vary considerably in size. Plate 42 shows a number of them photographed with a scale. When I asked what was the reason for these differences in size and material, my informants replied that some fishermen liked one kind, some another. No mention was made of choosing hooks of a colour suitable to weather and water conditions, as reported by Hiroa (1930, p. 498) for the Samoans, or that one kind was used in the bow and one in the stern as reported by Ivens for the SE. Solomons (Ivens, 1927, p. 134), so I am able to offer only negative evidence on these points. [171]

One hook from Petats (the middle one on the left in Pl. 42) has a short string of trade beads, probably in place of shell disks, attached to the fastening of the point on either side. The man who brought it said these were to make it catch many fish. He was about to tell me more when another man came up, so he hastily said they were just put on for ornament. But later he came back and told me that when putting the beads on he spat on the hook and said (Petats dialect):

'Lā	*hitaun,*	*lā*	*hitaun,*	*kokauat,*	*lā*	*ien.'*
'Catch	quickly,	catch	quickly,		catch	fish.'

He could not explain the word *kokauat*, and as he asked me not to tell anybody in the village what the words were, I could not inquire further about it.

The rod is made of bamboo, about 2 inches in diameter at the proximal end, tapering towards the distal end. The length seems to be a matter of individual taste, about 12 feet would be a fair average. The line is the usual fish-line of fibre, and is about the same length as the rod. [824] ● [283]

attend to the steering as well as to his rod and line. His rod is not held in the hand, except when landing a fish. The proximal end of it rests against a small piece of wood with a groove in it, fixed in the centre of the canoe, it then passes between the man's legs and under his thigh, which holds it in place, leaving his hands free to wield the paddle. When a fish takes the hook, the paddle is thrown into the bottom of the canoe, the rod is caught up, and the fish jerked over the side. Only one hook is attached to each rod. No bait is used, the resemblance of the hook to the small fish on which the bonito feed being sufficient attraction. The first bonito caught after a period of bad luck is decorated with paint and put back into the sea. This is supposed to attract the other fish to the hook.

Magical procedure connected with bonito fishing.

In view of the importance attaching to bonito fishing in the native mind, it is natural that there should be a large number of 'medicines', and an elaborate ritual directed towards ensuring a good catch. Bonito magic is not common knowledge, usually only one or two men in each village know it. As a rule, one man belonging to each clan represented in the village is in possession of this information, which he should pass on to a relative of the same clan before he dies. The usual heir to the secret is his sister's son. I obtained two accounts of magical procedure for bringing the bonito into the neighbourhood. Both were given to me by a man named Minka, living at Kurtatchi, but belonging originally to the village of Hanahan on the east coast of Buka. While Minka was giving me this information, Sobak, who knows all about it, kept watch to make sure that no one could overhear. As they differ considerably in detail, I give them both in full. Both require [834] strict abstinence from sexual intercourse on the part of the operator.

To bring bonito to your fishing grounds.

When you do this you must get up early in the morning and go into the bush without eating. Look for a piece of white *hakariuk* [824] (*Selaginella flabellata*, a white variegation, occurs in deep shade, and is much prized for decorative purposes). You must not see or be seen by anybody while you are getting it; if that happens you must throw it away and look for some more. Then catch a *kurakum*

Then catch A KurAKun

226 (a black insect that is found on certain plants in the bush, I think [825] a species of ant). You must also get some leaves of the *papara* tree. [824] (This tree grows only in the heart of the bush, involving a journey of considerable length to obtain it.) These leaves you must get at night, and you must not eat any food for some time before going out to get them.

226 824 Then take a branch of the *wakalō* tree and plant it upright on the shore. Take some leaves of *wanep* (a plant with red leaves) and some *magor* (see p. 475) and areca-nut. Chew all these together, put all the other leaves, and the *kurakum*, into a bundle, spit the mixture into it, and tie it up, leaving the ends of the leaves hanging out.

226 Give this bundle to another man to hold. Then say:

'Rēs ma	*atūn,*	*no ma*	*atūn*	*se no*	*bibiūr*	*ma.*
'Catch (*imper.*)	bonito,	come	bonito	let come	plenty.	

Rēs ma	*atūn,*	*se no ma*	*en*	*wānu pio.'*
Catch	bonito,	let come	to	village my.'

Then put the bundle of leaves into a hole in the reef, at a certain place. For Kurtatchi the appointed place is on the shore just below the village which is on the top of the cliff. It is called Kaur. Women are not allowed to go near this place. A man takes the bundle and pushes it down into the hole; this will make the bonito come to the surface of the water. A number of men watch while this is being done; meanwhile some of them imitate the movements and [825] cries of the birds that follow the bonito. The names of these birds are *kira*, *pupuluŋ*, *butuana*, and *aulas*. (*Aulas* is the frigate-bird; I think the others are gulls.)

The men then wash in the water near the place where the bundle has been sunk. This is done at night. Some men call out:

'Di	*a*	*mon,*	*atūn*	*to en non.'*
'Bring	out	canoe,	bonito	are feeding.'

Then the men dive into the hole, and get stones and fasten down the bundle, so that the sea will not carry it away. Then you must fix a time when the bonito are to come, say five days. During that time you must not go to work, but must stay in your own village; you must not go to another village even for a visit, and you must not eat in any hut except your own.

When the time fixed comes, the bonito will be there, and the men get out their canoe. You must not go in the canoe, you must

watch from the village. While all the men are paddling hard, take 226
out the stopper of your lime-pot and leave it open all the time the canoe is out. When it comes ashore, put back the stopper, then the bonito will stop feeding. If a canoe from another village comes up [186]
to fish, don't take the stopper out, then they will not be able to catch any.

The bonito will be there for several days, and all the canoes will go out. The bundle that was sunk in the hole will now be rotten, and will stink. All the canoes must go ashore at the place where the bundle was sunk, and must clean the fish over the hole. The blood of the bonito will go into the bundle, and this will cause the fish to come in great numbers.

Suppose the men from another place boast about catching bonito, and say: 'We know how to catch plenty of bonito', you say: 'What do you mean? You know how to catch plenty of bonito? You can't talk like that.' If you want to prevent the people of a certain place from catching bonito, get the stalk of *bō* and chew it with areca-nut and lime, and then bury it in the place where they keep their bonito canoe. Then, even if your own canoe is catching plenty, they won't be able to catch any, and they will say: 'Why is our canoe not catching any bonito? What are we to eat?'

If you want to make the bonito go away, you have intercourse [834]
with a woman secretly; there will be no more bonito. When you want them to come back again, you must refrain from sexual intercourse; this is very important. If you go with a woman, the bonito will go away. The other men will think they have gone of their own accord, they do not know about this rule.

When you want the bonito to come back again, you must get [824]
a new set of leaves, *papara*, *wakalō*, *kakariuk*, to help the bundle you left on the reef before. Put this new bundle on the top of the old one, fasten it down strongly with stones, and set a new time, five nights, or ten, if you like. Wait for the bonito for this time, staying in your own village. When the canoe goes out, take out the stopper of your lime-pot. The canoe must come ashore again at the place where the bundle is buried, and the fish must be cleaned there, so that their blood runs down on to the bundle; then there will be plenty of fish. When the canoe comes ashore, put back the stopper of your lime-pot, and the bonito will stop feeding.

Minka told me that this procedure was very secret. Hardly

226 [604] anybody knows it. He[1] learnt it at Pororan, from his *tua* (mother's brother, or some one standing in the same relationship according to their system, see p. 60) Pulaget, now dead. He intends to show it to his sister's son, a boy now about sixteen, when he is older, if he wishes to learn it.

The same man gave me another form of procedure with the same purpose, i.e. to bring large shoals of bonito within reach, which runs as follows:

226 532 ● 824 Get a stone, and carve it into the shape of a bonito. Give it an eye, and a mouth, and a tail. Go down to the shore and bring up some sea-water to your house, and wash the stone fish in this water, inside the house. Then get some leaves of the *haharib* plant, and put them into a *kōbū* (areca-palm spathe), and put the stone fish on the top of the leaves. Fasten up the *kōbū* and put it in the men's side of the house. Be careful not to put the fish's eye looking out to sea, but put it so that the fish is looking towards the bush, then the bonito will come up towards the shore. Fix a time for taking out the stone fish, perhaps after five nights. When the time comes take the stone fish and rub *magor* on it, get some *iwi* (see p. 417) and rub it on the mouth of the fish. That will make the stone fish very angry, and there will be plenty of bonito. If you want the bonito to finish, take the stone fish out of the *kōbū* and put it away very carefully in your house. Bury the leaves in the sand. Then the bonito will go away.

226 532 Minka said he learnt this method from his brother, Kiowali, who taught him when he felt that he was about to die. Kiowali possessed two stone fish, one entire, the other with a broken tail. The latter he threw away, the other is in Minka's possession and was shown to me, in great secrecy, when no one was about. It is particularly important that the stone fish should not be seen by women, or it will lose its power. He said he could not give it to me, because he [177] had no other. I subsequently procured one from a man at Ruri, who had used it, but on the advice of the native mission teacher had decided not to do so any more. It is made of a hard black stone, of a volcanic nature, apparently a species of diorite, very similar to other stones used in different kinds of magic. It has a string of trade beads in its mouth, and round its tail, to which is also attached a bunch of dried grass (Pl. 42 centre).

On the north coast of Bougainville wooden models of bonito are sometimes used instead of stone ones; these seem to be later

[1] [i.e., Minka.—Analyst]

226 791 holds no official status amongst the natives, but is honoured for his ability to bring the *atun* into the Pororan fishing-grounds.

226 532 The magic stone, called by the Pororan natives *tokamu*, which means 'not a long time', consists of a small replica of a fish, carved from a soft stone (somewhat similar to a sandstone) obtained from the mainland of Buka in one of the small rivers. It is usually about 6 inches long, 2 inches deep, and 1½ inches thick. Some of the stones are plain with no carving, others have a fish's mouth, eyes, fins, and tail carved roughly.

226 ●824 The magic mixture, *hirako* (which is the same name as that given to magic potions, whether love potions or mixtures used when on raiding expeditions to send their foes to sleep), is a red powder, and contains crushed grass seeds (*sa'i*), the scraped inside bark of a tree (*hakala*), another inside bark of the *maluba* tree, a small quantity of the love potion (which is obtained from Hahon; the ingredients are not known to the Pororan natives), and the juice of the wild sugar, which is used to dampen the herbs. The seeds and scraped tree barks, together with the sugar juice, are placed in a pot over a slow fire and heated until the juice of the sugar is thoroughly absorbed by the herbs. After heating, a small portion of red oxide of iron (which is obtained from the Timputs or Baniu districts) is added to the mixture and then the whole is placed in the sun to dry. When dried it is placed in small leaf packages and securely tied with native string. These packages of mixture are prepared with great secrecy in the depths of the bush, careful watch being kept that no other men than those initiated are able to witness the operation. Usually sufficient mixture for about ten packages is prepared.

226 Before the actual working of the *hirako* the medicine man and his assistant repair to the bush and there gather the necessary leaves and bark for the preparation of the magic. These leaves and barks are made into a bundle, and, while the medicine man seats himself upon the ground and calls upon the spirits of departed medicine men to assist him in his work, the assistant slowly moves down on to the beach carrying the bundle upon his head. Arriving at the beach, he places it beneath stones, the leaves pointing towards the sea, the roots towards the bush. He then walks slowly around the bundle, and then walks into the sea and splashes his hands about in the water, making a noise similar to that made by the *atun* when they muster at sea.

and its eyes cleared of any foreign matter, and a small portion of the 226 magic mixture is placed in its mouth. This is to ensure that their eyes may see the hooks and their mouths hold the fish-hooks securely.

The steersmen and the men holding the bamboos chew the mixture while out in the *mon*, mixing it with betel-nut. The [164] chewing of the mixture has a deteriorating effect upon the teeth. (Sowi's teeth appeared in a decayed state, as though an acid had eaten away the enamel.)

When the catch is made all the *mon* converge to the spot where the medicine man is seated, and he then counts the fish, taking one from each *mon* for himself. With these fish he afterwards makes [574] a small feast. Payment made to the medicine man for working the magic is not retained by him but expended upon food for a feast amongst his relations.

It is customary that one man of each totem in a village has a 226 knowledge of working the *atūn* charm. At present on Pororan 791 there is only one man who has the knowledge. He is of the Kekeliau totem. The Naboin man has died without passing his knowledge on.

All the *tohamu* used in other parts of Buka come from Pororan, and the instruction is given by the man Sowi. His assistant is Hulaswat, who in turn will become the chief medicine man.

Other forms of bonito magic.

Besides the magic just described, which is intended to bring 226 shoals of bonito into home waters, there are also numerous 'prescriptions' for obtaining a good catch for yourself or your own canoe. A selection of those in my collection is here given. The first comes from Petats, the others from Kurtatchi:

Bai'ia (a creeper, growing in the bush). (Petats dialect.)

Go to the bush and get some *bai'ia*. There are two kinds of *bai'ia*; 226 only one of these will do, it is called *bai'ia hihiri kolot*. Bring it to the 824 house. Stick the fishing-rod (*hiat*) into the ground in front of the house, so that it stands up over the house. Get the leaf of a kind of betel-pepper, not the same as is eaten with areca-nut but something like it. Chew it with areca-nut and lime; it makes the saliva red just the same as the real betel-pepper. Spit it out on to the *hiat*.

When you go to the bush to get the *bai'ia* you must go straight to it, walking quickly; you must not linger by the way. You must not search for it, but go straight to the place where it grows, and pull it hard. As you pull it up, call out: '*Atūn Pi*'.

226 Now skin an areca-nut, a small one, that is not really ready for chewing. 824 Chew it, with the leaf of *pipinkura* and lime. Then chew some more areca-nut with betel-pepper and lime in the usual way, but chew the *bai'ia* with it, spit it out on to the palm of your hand, take your fish-line and rub the contents of your palm up and down it. Fasten a bonito hook on to the line. Pass your hand with the chewed mixture in it down the length of the line till it comes to the hook, but do not smear the hook. Then put back the rod and line in the house.

226 Next time there is a cry of '*Atūn*', take your rod and go to the beach, there spit backwards over your shoulder into the water, and say:

'*Atūn* *Pi*
Bonito (name of spirit of dead man especially concerned with bonito)
ruk me *wilala,* *areban* *baŋ me* *wilala*
go down rod, all the men (more usual form *barevan*) look rod
tagoan *ruk* *hitaun* *no*.'
my go down quickly (verbal particle).

(The word *wilala* is used only in formulae such as this, the usual word being *hiat*. Petats dialect.)

(i.e. 'Oh Pi, go down on to my rod. All the men will be looking, but you go down on to my rod quickly.')

Then take your rod and drop it on the ground, then go out to fish, and presently the bonito will go down on to your hook, just as the rod went down on to the ground.

[824] *Rakot* (a grass with a multitude of small seeds, not unlike 'quaking grass').

Chew the root with betel-mixture and spit it into the inside of your canoe just before launching. Call on the *urar* Pulaget, Soat, and Tsinong. The two former were men who were very successful at bonito fishing, the latter a woman who could carry heavy loads of bonito on her back. In calling on them the following formula is used:

'*Tar ma po* *hanon* *piar* *nen rĕs ma* *atūn*. *Tar nom po ma* *mon*
Look at hook our pull bonito. Look at canoe
pa naban, *nen rĕs ma* *atūn* *piar*.'
of all of us, pull bonito our.

(i.e. 'Look at our hook and catch bonito for us. Look at our canoe and catch bonito for us.')

[824] When you have done this, chew the leaves of *rakot* with betel-mixture, spit it on the rod and line and on your hands, and rub down the line until you come to the hook.

[824] *Bwiar* (*Fleurya interrupta*).

Rub the leaves between your hands; it will sting, but you will not mind that because you want to catch fish, and the sting does not last long. Mix some lime with the leaves, and rub the mixture on the line.

Konkon (a creeper).

Chew the root with betel-mixture, spit on to your palm, and rub all over your skin before you start out; this will cause the fish to bite. 226 824

Wagoguir (a large tree which grows on the shore).

Pound some of the bark and wash it in sea-water. Drink a little of this mixture, and pour the rest over your head. Chew some of the leaves and spit them out into the sea where the tide will carry them away. Then go and fish for bonito and you will have a good catch.

Maniŋiŋ (a sweet-scented grass of the *Cymbopogon* species used in India for making citronella oil).

If you have been very unsuccessful, chew the root with betel-mixture and rub your legs where the rod lies across them, then take another piece of the root and put it in your hair when you go fishing.

It is important that a man who goes fishing for bonito should not have sexual intercourse, either with his wife or with any one else, the night before. If he has done so, it is said that the fish smell the woman and will not bite. The disability may be overcome by chewing the root of *bariur* (*Crinum asiaticum*) with betel-mixture and rubbing the chewed mass on the outside of the thighs where the rod lies across them. This 'removes the smell of the woman' and the fish will then bite. A man whose wife is pregnant must on no account go out in a bonito canoe, neither must a man who is newly married and has recently slept with his wife for the first time. There is no 'medicine' to counteract this taboo. 226 834 824 843

Other fishing methods

For fish other than bonito a variety of methods is employed, of which the following are the most important: 226 462

METHODS USED BY MEN ONLY

A. *Open sea and lagoon fishing.*

1. Net on frame.
2. Troll line.
3. Rod and line.
4. Fishing kite.

B. *Reef fishing.*

5. Bow and arrow.
6. Spear.
7. Line and hook.
8. Hand-plunging trap.

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226 9. Thorn-lined trap.
462 10. Stunning and poisoning.
11. Drives.

METHODS USED BY WOMEN ONLY

12. Barricade of leaves.
13. Women's hand-net.
14. Basket.
15. Groping with hand under stones.
16. Collecting shell-fish.

METHODS USED BY BOTH SEXES

C. *Freshwater fishing.*
17. Hand-net.
18. Dam made of leaves.

METHODS USED BY MEN ONLY

226 A. *Open sea and lagoon fishing.*

The outrigger canoe is used in these methods, and as a rule the fishermen do not go very far out, preferring the smoother water off the lee shore, though they do, in favourable weather, also [834] venture into the open sea. Women do not take part in these excursions, but there are none of the sexual taboos which are observed in connexion with bonito fishing.

1. *Net on frame.*

227 286 283 [824] The net (*ū bean*, P.; *ēb*, K.[1]) is made of native fibre-string. This string is made of the tough fibrous layer underlying the skin of the stem of a running creeper called *karĕb*, by rolling on the bare thigh. It must be made in short sections, as the creeper-stem is furnished with a series of nodes at intervals of six or seven inches, at which the fibre breaks off when stripped. The short lengths are joined by twisting the ends between the fingers. For the finer string, two strands of this fibre are sufficient. The action of rolling on the thigh is called *kanun*. This suffices for the finest nets for catching small fish. For lines intended for bonito and for nets for bigger fish several strands are twisted together on the thigh, and three sets of these are rolled (not plaited) over and over each other

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[1] P. = Petats dialect, K. = Kurtatchi dialect. The native terms given are in the Kurtatchi dialect unless otherwise specified.

225 Dugong (*lium*, P.) sometimes come close in shore at night, at high water. They are said to be caught with a kind of square drag net, fixed on to a pole at each end. I have not seen this procedure, or a sample of this kind of net.

226 There are numerous 'medicines' for ensuring a good result in fishing with the *ĕb*. The following are the most interesting of those in my collection:

226 824 Go to the bush and get some of the plants called *sō* and *gunasgu*. Scrape off some of their bark, and mix it with *oin*. (Iron oxide, see p. 416.) Wrap the mixture in a leaf of the fan-palm *win*. Put the bundle in the bottom of the canoe. Then get some of the bark of the trees *winoa* (canarium almond) and *karu* (Barringtonia). Scrape it. Take some *sisiwa* (see p. 475) and powder it into your hand, then sprinkle the scraped bark of the *winoa* and *karu* with it. You must do this while you are quite alone, no one must see you do it.

When you want to go and catch fish, put a dab of this mixture of scraped bark and *sisiwa* on your ears and nose. Take the bundle of *sō* and *gunasgu* and open it out. Lay it on the outrigger of your canoe, but if a wind springs up you must take it in quickly so that it shall not be blown away.

226 Then take your net and pick up a stone—any stone from the beach will do—and throw it into the net; throw it hard. This is to test the strength of the net. As you throw, say: '*Wawan tsuk a ien arawa to no non nots.*' ('Look out for the fish here which is coming now.') That is, you make the net think a fish is coming into it. If the net breaks, you must make a new one; if it holds, you can go on. Then put the stone into your canoe and go out to sea.

Now your net cannot be lazy in catching fish. The other canoes may come back empty, but yours will be full of fish. It will beat the other canoes every time.

When you come ashore, put the bundle of leaves away with your two nets; hang them up in the rafters of your hut, and make a little barricade round the place where they are; no one must go inside it. When the bundle of leaves rots, make a new one in the same way.

Most of the 'prescriptions' are used without any formula, such as the following:

Amoenagan.

This is a mixture of root and bark scrapings and dried leaves with *oin*, kept in a package tied up with leaves. It was highly valued by its owner, who said he got it from his grandfather at Timputs, and did not know exactly what was in it. He gave me a little of the mixture as a great favour. It is for dabbing at the outer corners of the eyelids; if this

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226 be done just before setting out, fish will come to your canoe. If another canoe comes up to fish near you, it should be rubbed off, then the intruder will not be able to catch any fish. It is used especially in fishing for deep-sea fish, called *ŋaŋur*, *malaisa*, *taŋini*.

226 *Gotoin* (a small tree).

824 Rub the canoe with the leaves of this tree, and then a lot of fish will come to your nets.

Pako (a creeper).

Rub its leaves between your hands. Chew its root with betel-mixture. Rub both on the net. This is especially good for catching the large fish called *makō*.

Wadodowo (a large tree, which bears berries much liked by birds).

Chew a piece of a large root with betel-mixture, spit on to your palm and rub on net, then fix a piece of the root on to the net.

226 2. *Troll line.*

A heavy line (*palaŋon*) is trolled, without a rod, behind a canoe, for catching large deep-sea fish, of several varieties.

226 *'Medicine' for catching fish with* palaŋon.

824 *Katʃian* (tree resembling an areca-palm).

Take the root and some leaves, rub them together in your hands with lime, and rub on to the line. Chew root with betel-mixture, spit on your hands and rub over line. No use for bonito.

3. *Rod and line.*

226 227 [283] Deep-sea fish are also caught from outrigger canoes by means of a rod (*ara*) of bamboo often in two or more sections lashed together, tapering towards the distal end. A strong line is made by plaiting together four strands of rolled string. [177 439] Hooks of thorn used to be attached to the line, but trade hooks (*unau*) are generally substituted nowadays, when they can be obtained from planters' stores. Small fish, or bits of octopus or trepang, are used as bait. The rod and line is also used by men casting from the edge of the reef at low tide. (See Fig. 14.) [286] A landing net (*totol*) is sometimes used with it, consisting of a net of heavy string almost circular in shape, supported on a frame of wood in one piece, a branch with a suitable fork being chosen. [415 324] With this there goes a cleaned-out coco-nut shell to hold the bait. (Pl. 43.)

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824

The following are typical examples of the numerous 'prescriptions' suitable for use with rod and line:

Gartan.

Chew portion of the root with betel-mixture; spit on to fish-line.

[532]

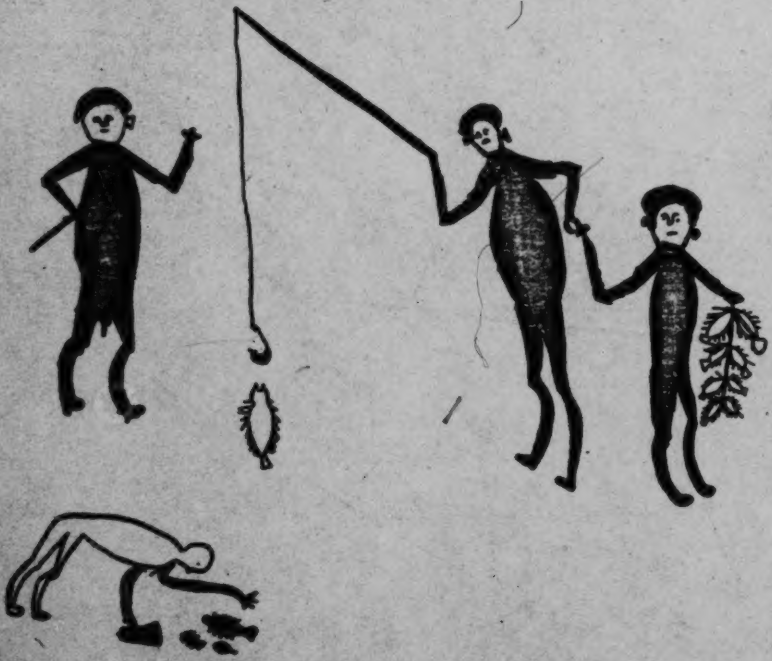

FIG. 14. Fishing. The central figure is a man fishing with rod and line; the boy on the right holds a string of fish. At the bottom on the left is a woman fishing on the reef with a basket. (Drawn by a boy.)

Fasten a small piece of the root on to the end of the line where it joins the rod, and you will catch many fish.

Iwi (a mixture).

Mix a little of this with *magor* (see p. 475), chew with betel-mixture, spit on hand and rub on fish-line.

Iwiy (a hard-wood tree).

Take some leaves, rub hard between hands, add a small quantity of *sisina* (see p. 475) and rub on line.

226 *Riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*).

● 824 Get some leaves; split them away from the mid-rib. Add a little *sisiwa*, and rub it on your hand. Then chew the root with betel-mixture, spit it on to your hand which holds the other mixture, and rub both on line.

4. *Fishing kite.*

226 133 While the three former methods are practised either inside or outside the reef, kite-fishing is generally confined to the smooth water between the reef and the shore, or in otherwise sheltered water. The term 'lagoon' is current locally to indicate any such stretch of sheltered water, not necessarily so fully enclosed as in the case of the lagoons of atolls, which are rarely found in this area. It is applied, for example, to the stretch of sea between the west coast of Buka and its fringing reef, from which rises the string of islands including Petats and Pororan, though the protecting reef is open at both ends and has gaps in it. In fair weather, this stretch of water is very suitable for kite-fishing, and it was there that I saw it being carried on. The people of the north coast of Bougainville are also acquainted with the fishing kite, but they use it less frequently, as in order to do so they have to go across the peninsula to the relatively sheltered water of Soraken bay, the open sea off their own villages being unsuitable.

226 171 *Distribution.* Kite-fishing is remarkable not only for its ingenuity, but also for its geographical distribution. This is discussed in a paper by H. Balfour (1913, p. 583), who traces it from a probable centre of dispersion 'somewhere in the eastern area of the Malayan Archipelago', as one of a series of cultural objects whose distribution can be followed over an area stretching from Singapore to Santa Cruz.

227 [824] *Construction.* The kite (*vavatoa*, P.) is made of five fronds of the sago-palm leaf, of which the two outer ones have the leaf stripped from one side of the mid-rib which thus acts as a stiff outside edge. The central leaf is turned back from its mid-rib for about a third of its length, which projects to form a tail to which is attached the string trailing the lure, towards the tip, and the string held by the fisherman, at the end of the split-off portion. This string is again fastened lower down the mid-rib, by means of a loose loop. The doubled leaf forms the central part of the body of the kite; two others, with the mid-rib stripped off, are stitched to either side of it,

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226 is used for the first time, the following procedure must be followed in order to make it effective, for, as my informant, a skilful kite-fisher from Petats, put it, 'the kite does not catch fish by itself'.

● [824] Get the root of the plant called *sil* (Petats dialect; this is the betel-pepper whose leaves are used for chewing with areca-nut and lime), chew it with areca-nut, and spit it on to the part of the fish-line that has the lure fastened to it, and goes into the water. Then say:

Seō, niknikō, botot me vavatoa.

Seō and *niknikō* are the two kinds of garfish, *botot* means 'take hold of the line and shake it', *vavatoa* is the kite. That is to say, the words are an invitation to the two kinds of garfish to come and be caught.

Having done this, you can go out to fish. The first time you go out, you must catch ten fish, and then go ashore. You must not give any of the fish to anybody. If some one asks you for one and says he is hungry, you tell him: 'I can't give you any because I want to cook my new kite. If you want to eat you can come to my house.'

[252] Then you make a very large fire, get it flaming well, and cook the ten fish on it. You must not put them in a pot, or cook them in an oven, but lay them on the fire. When they are done, you must eat them, and you must keep a good look-out all the time you are eating, to see that the dogs do not eat any of the fish. If even one dog gets hold of the smallest scrap, the kite will be no good, and the sharks will get all the fish every time you try to fish with it. When you have finished eating, make the fire up again so that it flares well, and burn all the bones.

226
824 If, when you go fishing, you find that a shark is getting the fish, you will know that a dog ate a bit of those ten fish while you were not looking. Then you get the root of *aisam* (*Lygodium dichotomum*) to undo the harm. When you come ashore after you have seen a shark eat your fish, if your wife wants to cook some of the fish, you must say to her: 'Don't cook them yet, just make the fire first.' Then you go into the bush and get a piece of *aisam* root and put it in the fire. Take your fish-line (*karikon*) and hang it up in the rafters of the hut just over the fire, so that the smoke from the fire goes up on to it. Then cook the fish in the fire that you threw the *aisam* into, and as the smoke goes up and smokes the fish-line it will make

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it good again, so that the sharks will not eat the fish that you are trying to catch with it. 226 824

Besides the procedure for the first use of a new kite, there is also a 'prescription' for ensuring a good catch on an ordinary occasion, which runs as follows:

Karawinoa (a shrub, probably belonging to the *Rubiaceae*).

Take some of the leaves, rub them in your hands, and put them into a coco-nut shell with a little sea-water. Lay the coco-nut shell on the outrigger of the canoe. Chew the root of the same plant with betel-mixture, spit on to your palm and rub on the string of the kite. When you catch your first fish for the day, pour a little of the mixture out of the coco-nut shell into its mouth and put it back into the sea. It will throw up the mixture; this will make the other garfish angry and plenty will come and take the lure.

B. *Reef fishing.*

The remaining fishing methods are of less importance, being regarded more in the nature of pastimes than as serious pursuits, though they make an appreciable difference to the food supply. They are carried out in shallow water near the shore, or on the reef at low tide. There is but little magical procedure associated with them, as they are not considered of sufficient importance. 226

5. *Bow and arrow.*

Small fish are shot with bow and arrow, the arrows made of the mid-rib of the sago-palm leaf, as used for shooting birds. Pieces of the leaf are left attached to the shaft to feather the arrows. The fish thus obtained are generally used for baiting a line, such shooting being the preliminary to a morning's fishing. The arrow is not retrieved by being attached to a string, but the fisherman follows it on foot. The names of seven varieties of small fish were given to me as being shot thus for purposes of bait. They are also eaten, but chiefly when other 'relish' for the taro is not forthcoming. 226 411

6. *Spear.*

Small fish are also, and more frequently, obtained by the use of a spear (*alak*, P., *keruŋ*, K.). Those in use at the present time have prongs of heavy wire flattened at the ends, usually six in number.

8. *Hand plunging-trap.*

The hand plunging-trap is used for catching small fish which come in shoals, chiefly the kind called *silohon* in the Petats dialect, resembling sardines. It can be used only in very shallow water. 226

Construction. The trap (*ĕvu*, P.) is made of a large number of mid-ribs of coco-nut palm leaf fronds (*so'op*, P.) bound together with fibre-string at regular intervals throughout their length, the rows of ties being about 3 inches apart. When not in use, it lies flat. In a specimen which I brought home the length from top to bottom is 53½ inches and its width, doubled, is about 3 feet at the bottom. It is prepared for use by the insertion of a circle of cane mounted on a handle, all bound round with the tough creeper used for canoe-making (*aisam*). The cane frame (*hapirik*, P.) is thrown into the wide end of the *ĕvu* with some force, so that the handle falls through the narrow end, where the mid-ribs are fixed close together. The mid-ribs are then gathered round the handle and securely fastened, with a slight twist such as one gives when rolling an umbrella. Thus prepared, the whole trap opens out when held vertically by the handle. When expanded ready to be dropped into the water, the *ĕvu* looks like an old-fashioned full skirt. 227 [824]

Method of use. A description of one man's method of handling it will indicate the way in which it is used. He started work early in the morning, about an hour after sunrise, because he saw the little fish making a commotion in the water close inshore. He stood in water up to his knees, about 6 feet from the beach. At first he held the trap horizontally, with the pointed end to the right, his right hand on the stick at its top, and his left on the upper edge of the bottom of the trap, which hung limp. Presently he turned it vertically, so that it opened out. He kept it suspended just over the surface of the water, remaining quite still for several minutes. Then he heard fish splashing a short distance off, so he went over to the place where they were and waited again. Presently he pushed the trap down into the water, and quickly bunched the ends together with his feet. Then, bending down, he caught up the ends in a bundle with both hands and pulled the whole thing out of the water thus. He carried it to the beach and opened it out on the sand. It held twenty-seven *silohon*; he said that was a poor catch. 226

I have also seen men sitting on the low branches of trees which overhung the water, waiting with the *ĕvu* ready poised, then, when the fish splash below them they drop the *ĕvu* on to the fish and jump

226 off the branch into the water and deftly push the bottom of the *ĕvu* together with their feet, enclosing the fish.

I did not see anything resembling the *ĕvu* in the Bougainville villages, but they have very little shore accessible to them on which they could use such an appliance.

9. *Thorn-lined trap.*

226 227 [824] There is also in use in these islands a fish-trap made of the leaf-stems of a thorny vine of the Calamus species, fastened, roughly in the shape of an elongated cone, on to a piece of wood pointed at the other end, by means of which it is fixed in position (Pl. 43). The cone is strengthened with two circles of cane. The thorns are set point inwards, to prevent the fish from getting out. I have not seen this method practised, but a specimen of the trap was procured for me by Mr. Gordon Thomas on the island of Pororan. I am indebted to Mr. Thomas also for the following particulars concerning it. The trap is called *lamlam* in the Pororan dialect (which is very similar to that used on Petats). The thorny vine of which it is constructed is called *kakūl*. The trap is baited with ureta (*la'ut*). The pointed end of the stick is set in the sand at diving depth or wedged between rocks at an acute angle, with the bait at the apex of the cone, and the top part of the trap is covered with certain kinds of leaves (*karian*) leaving nothing but the mouth showing. It is used exclusively by men. [825] The fish usually caught by it are a red fish (*taulō*) and a spotted rock-fish (*sinai*). It 'belongs to the olden days' and is not much used now.

171 227 *Distribution.* It has been pointed out by H. Balfour that the thorn-lined fish-trap occurs in the same areas as the fishing kite (*Man*, 1925, No. 21, and 1932, No. 77), and that 'owing to its almost completely linked-up distribution, it affords one of the most convincing chains of concrete evidence helping to prove an affinity between the culture of the Naga Hills at one end of the range, and Melanesian culture at the other end' (1925, p. 37).

10. *Stunning and Poisoning.*

226 824 The natives use a preparation for stunning fish, made from the plant called *tʃū*, a climbing plant growing up the trunks of trees, to which it attaches itself by means of suckers. To prepare it, the root of the plant must be taken from underground; the suckers attached to the trunk of the tree will not do. These roots are pounded into pulp with a stone. A handful of the pulp is taken

by the fisherman, who dives down and pushes it into holes in the 226
rocks. He then goes back to his canoe. In a short time there is an
'explosion' which stuns the fish; the small ones come to the surface, 824
the large ones are dived for. I am not clear as to the exact nature of this 'explosion'. My informants said it was 'just like dynamite', with which some of them are familiar as it is used for killing fish by the planters, though there are government restrictions on its use by natives owing to the liability to accidents. I have not seen this plant used, but it seems clear from the description given that the fish are actually stunned or killed by the explosion, and not poisoned. Williams (1930, p. 58) reports among the Orokaiva the use of the vine *Anisi*, a species of derris, which goes by the name of 'New Guinea dynamite'. Unfortunately, the specimen of *tʃū* which I brought home was not adequate for identification, so I cannot say whether it is the same plant. Williams describes its action as poisoning. 'The root of the Anisi is pounded on a log. It exudes a highly poisonous milky fluid which permeates the water, and brings the fish stupefied to the surface.'

The actual poisoning of fish is also known to these people. They 226
use the fruit of *wapatsun* (a large tree which grows on the shore) 278
by pulping it on a stone and throwing it into the water. This does 824
not explode, but poisons the fish, which then rise to the surface and are picked up.

The poisoning of fish is a very widespread practise among primi- 171
tive peoples. Ivens describes a method of poisoning employed in 226
the SE. Solomons involving a preparation of the bark of the 278
Barringtonia tree 'heated in the fire to bring out its bitter qualities'
(1927, p. 389). The kernel of the fruit of a species of Barringtonia 824
is used for poisoning pools by the Samoans (Hiroa, 1930, p. 443), and the outer portion of the fruit of the same tree by the Fijians 'for stupefying fish for the purpose of catching them' (Maiden, 1889, p. 160, quoted from Seemann, *Flora Vitensis*). The plant called *wapatsun*, mentioned above, is not the ordinary Barringtonia, the kernels of which are eaten. This is called *karu* and is used for various medicinal purposes, but not, so far as I know, for catching fish. It may, however, be another species of Barringtonia.

11. *Drives.*

Under appropriate conditions, in places where there is a muddy 225
shore, such as that in a bay near Novar, on the western end of Buka

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no suitable shore. The 'flipping' method is used to catch fish in rock pools (see Fig. 14, figure at left bottom corner). 226

13. *Small net.*

There is a small hand-net (*batsuts*, K.) peculiar to the women, used to catch fish in rock pools left in the reef at low tide. In shape it resembles the *ēb*, but is much smaller, and of finer string. To ensure success with this, the following 'medicine' is used: 226 227 286 824

Paparau (a large tree).

Small pieces of the roots of this tree are chewed with the betel-mixture and spat on to the net. Men are not allowed to use this medicine.

14. *Basket.*

A certain form of basket (*bona*, K.) is in great demand among the women of Kurtatchi for fishing the rock pools. Two are required, one is held in the hand and its mouth pressed against likely crevices and openings, the other is carried on a cord round the waist to receive the result of each attempt. These baskets are different from the *aunat* used at Petats with the festoon of leaves, being much more closely woven, of softer material, apparently some kind of grass, and are very pliant. The shape is rectangular, and the two edges lie close together when the basket is not held open. 226 227 285

There is a 'prescription' for use with this method also:

Marawat (a large tree).

Chew the root of this tree with betel-mixture, spit on to a small twig of the same tree. Put the twig into your basket and rattle it, the fish will then come into the basket. [824]

15. *Groping under stones.*

The women do not need either net or basket in order to go fishing. They will never pass a likely looking hole or crevice on a reef without feeling around it to see if there are any fish lurking there, and are very skilful in pulling them out with their bare fingers. They also pile up stones into heaps on the reef in order to provide suitable hiding-places for the fish. These heaps are called *ma'ō*. A net is sometimes placed by them. This practice is prevalent in all the coast villages throughout the area. 226

16. *Gathering shell-fish.*

An account of fishing methods would not be complete without mention of the occupation over which the women spend more time

226 than any other, except for their work in the taro garden. This is the search for shell-fish on the reef and in the sand. Several hours of most days are spent in this way, which is a sure, if somewhat slow and laborious, method of providing a relish for the evening taro. A great variety of shells is collected; perhaps the most numerous are of the cowrie species, particularly a white variety with a blue patch on the back.

METHODS USED BY BOTH SEXES

The 'Portuguese Man-o-War' (*Velella*) is esteemed a delicacy. Fig. 15 is a young man's drawing of a man and his wife collecting these creatures. The magic to bring them within reach is in the hands of the women. They go secretly to the shore, and call out the names of places from which the *tsuwaluŋ* are to come, starting [824] from Nissan. Then they rub lime over the leaves of the creeper *kurits tsuwaluŋ*, and holding these leaves in their hands, they say: 'All the women are waiting with their baskets and *kŏbŭ*. To-morrow the place will be full of *tsuwaluŋ*.'

C. *Freshwater Fishing.*

Freshwater fish are taken in the larger rivers. There were no rivers accessible to the villages in which I resided, so I can only record this from what my informants told me. Two methods were described, both of which might be used by either men or women, or by both sexes in conjunction.

17. *Hand-net.*

226 227 A net similar to that used in sea-fishing, and also called *ĕb*, is used from an outrigger canoe, or from the bank. To fish with the *ĕb* in fresh water is *wagan i ruin*. Either rivers or the large pools sometimes found in the bush will serve for this method of fishing.

18. *Dam.*

226 A selected area is fenced off by means of a dam made of the large heavy leaves of the bush banana or of plaited coco-nut palm leaves. This is called *pipiŋ a ruin si rakrak*, 'to barricade a river so that it is dry'. The fish left stranded on the portion from which the water is kept back are either speared or picked up.

501 like this, then you cut the inside, then you get another stone and work it inside so that it is smooth.'

773 Then he went back to his home and fetched a spear and a bow and 539 arrows. Then he went alone to the bush. He was sorry about his trees. He said: 'Oh, why should they all know about my trees?' He took an arrow and shot it into the tree; that is why the *tʃiniv* tree has many holes in it, so that people have to stop them with putty nut. The man wanted them all to have hard work to stop them with putty. The arrow stuck in the tree, presently it fell down; since then all the *tʃiniv* trees have holes in them, and now the people have to put putty into them.

396 824 *Materials.* Several different varieties of tree may be used. The one universally preferred, on account of the straightness and suitable size of its trunk, and the softness of its wood, making for ease in working, is that mentioned in the legend, called, in the Petats dialect, *uertsil*, and in that of Kurtatchi *tʃiniv*; in the latter case the same word is used for the finished canoe, which at Petats is called *dʒini*. The tree is tall and slender, with rather smooth bark, which strips off in large slabs. There is a milky sap under the bark when it is first stripped, and the same milky fluid exudes from the stems of the leaves when they are broken off. The wood is white and so soft that one man can fell a *tʃiniv* tree by himself, unless it is a very large one.

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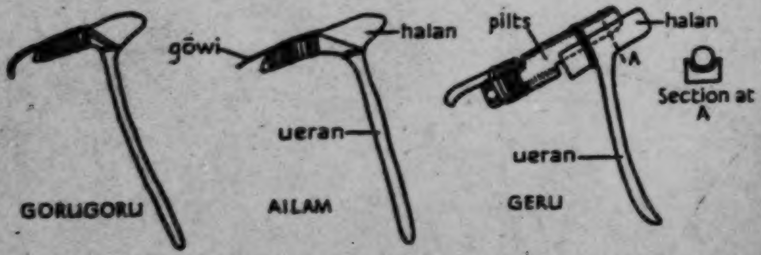

FIG. 16. Tools used in making a dug-out canoe.

413 177 439 *Tools used.* (The native terms are in the Petats dialect.) In the olden days, stone implements were used. Fire has never been employed to hollow out the log. Nowadays the work is done with metal tools obtained from traders, rehafted in the native fashion, probably much as the stone implements were hafted of old (Fig. 16). They use, besides the ordinary trade axe, which they call a tomahawk, a straight-bladed adze (*ailam*) and an adze with a curved

blade (*gorugoru*). Both are hafted on to handles of which the *halan*, 413
i.e. the part supporting the blade (*gŏwi*), is in one piece with the part held in the hand (*ueran*). This latter is long, fairly thin, and rather roughly straightened. The blade is bound to the handle with strips of the tough outside rind of the creeper *Lygodium* [824] *dichotomum* (*aisam* in the Petats dialect, the same as *asam* in the Kurtatchi dialect). The second form of adze has a curved blade, hafted in the same manner. There is another tool (*geru*) consisting of a curved blade fixed on to a piece of wood (*pilts*), which revolves in a groove cut in the handle, so that the blade can be turned round. The straight part of the canoe is trimmed roughly with the axe; the shaping of the ends, the keel, and most of the inside work is done with one or other of the adzes, and the corners and curved pieces with the *geru*.

Method of Construction. Dug-out canoes are very numerous on 396
the island of Petats, the position of which is favourable to their use. At one time during my three months' residence six were in process of manufacture simultaneously. At Kurtatchi they are less in evidence, the coast being much rougher, and are generally kept at the fishing hamlet of Tarongen, on the other side of the peninsula, in the shelter of the bay. Two were made by the Kurtatchi people while I was there. The method is the same in both places, but as I watched most carefully the process of manufacture at Petats, my description hails from that island. A job of this sort is usually [461] carried out rather spasmodically, and the time required varies a good deal. Possibly more than the usual amount of concentration was put into the work done on this canoe, at least during the initial stages, because its maker was anxious to show me what he could do. I have known a half-finished canoe to be left untouched for weeks at a time because the craftsman did not feel inclined to work on it. But with this proviso, the time is more or less representative.

October 28. Tree felled. The one selected as suitable had a trunk of 2 feet in circumference about 4 feet above the ground, where it was felled, and continued the same size for a considerable part of its height. The upper portion of the trunk was cut away, [804] leaving a piece which they said measured 4½ *gă* (*gă* = a fathom or span, roughly about 6 feet) to be converted into the canoe. My measurement made it a little over 25 feet.

October 29. The bark was stripped off, except for a piece on the keel. The outside was trimmed roughly to shape; the portion

396 measurements on p. 368). Lashings of *aisam* were put round each of the poles including the two outrigger-booms, and under and round the *sokau* and the *pinin* several times. The platform was thus securely attached to the hull.

November 23. Most of the day was spent in stopping up the holes made by insects in the wood. In the other canoes I saw made, this was done before the platform was placed in position (Pl. 48*b*). [824] For filling in the holes the resinous fruit of the 'putty nut' (*Parinarium laurinum*) is used. When first cut open, this has a pinkish colour and is of the consistency of putty, but on exposure to the air it gradually hardens and turns black. It is then completely waterproof. When all the holes had been filled, the canoe was left for the filling to harden, until

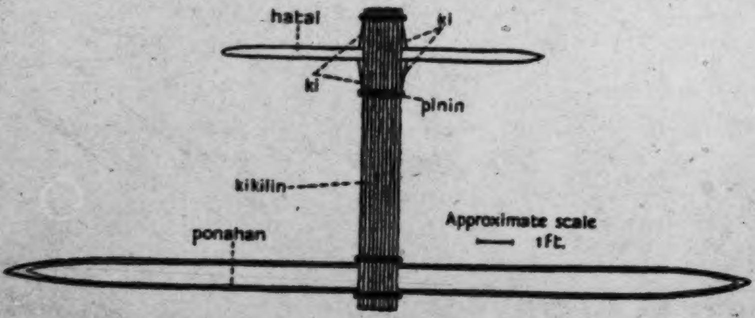

FIG. 18. Dug-out canoe viewed from above.

December 7. The outrigger float was fixed. The float consists of a pole cut to a point at each end. The points are charred to harden them. Each boom is attached to the float by means of two connectives (*ki*) set obliquely in holes made in the upper surface of the float, two on each side, carrying the sticks up at an acute angle in two pairs, one of each pair on each side of the platform. The outside pair is fitted almost at the end of the platform, the inside pair about a foot to the right of it. A cross-bar (*pinin*) is lashed to the platform at the point where each connective meets it, and the connecting sticks are lashed to it.

The fixing of the outrigger float is the last essential operation. The canoe may then be launched. At the worker's pleasure the whole of the outside of the hull is coloured white by rubbing it with handfuls of a species of seaweed, wet with sea-water, just as

386

it is collected from the reef. This seaweed (*mō*) is a calcareous 396
alga which Dr. Haddon tells me is used for the same purpose 824 ●
from Matty Islands to Santa Cruz. A zigzag pattern (*būn*) may [171]
be painted in red along each side at the upper or lower margin, [532]
or both.

No ceremonies accompany the launching of a dug-out canoe.

TERMS USED IN CONNEXION WITH DUG-OUT CANOE[1]

Meaning of Term.	*Petats.*	*Kurtatchi.*	501
Dug-out canoe with outrigger	*dʒini*	*tʃinio*	192
Tree of which it is generally made	*uĕrtsil*	*tʃinio*	197
Keel	*habín*		
Rim	*pónahan*		
Sides	*réhin*		
Generic term for either end (same word as for 'nose')	*ŭrŭ*	*ŋiŋirus*	
Bow	*mŭs*	*matóm*	
Stern	*tao*	*kápits*	
Hook on either end (same word as for 'hornbill')	*ŋóŋo*	*tʃitʃio*	
Slope of outline from keel to hook	*lámut*		
Outrigger booms and poles forming platform	*kíkilin* (*kikilil*)	*wanér*	
Sticks (3) inside canoe, to which the outrigger booms are fastened	*sóhau*	*tapár*	
Cross-bars bracing platform	*pínin*	*pínil*	
Stick attachment joining float to booms	*ki*	*ke*	
Binding fixing booms to canoe	*pilpil*	*lau*	
Creeper of which this is made (*Lygodium dichotomum* Sw.)	*alsam*	*dsam*	
Outrigger float	*hátal* or *halas*	*ag* or *waga*	
Paddle	*hos*	*owas*	

Size. Three grades are distinguished by name, the actual 501
measurements varying slightly within each class: *dʒini kekerik*, a small canoe suitable for two people but manageable by one paddler alone; *dʒini kahal*, medium size, can be paddled by two, but will take a passenger or a third paddler if required; *dʒini dʒin*, a large canoe for four or more people; these are unusual as they are rather clumsy to manage.

My own table of measurements was unfortunately lost, but the following, kindly taken by Mr. Gordon Thomas on the island of Pororan, may be regarded as typical of the whole area.

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[1] Some of the Petats terms have been previously recorded by Friederici (1912, p. 295).

travellers, beginning with Mendaña, showing that they undoubtedly did so, and, as mentioned in the previous paragraph, the Petats people were doing so not very long ago. It is interesting to note that the Kurtatchi people, who apparently learnt the method of manufacture after the introduction of white men's tools, said most emphatically that it would be impossible to make them without. Nowadays, the tools employed include axes, metal adzes, gimlets, augurs, sometimes a brace and bit, and occasionally a plane. In the absence of a brace and bit, pieces of wire or nails, which can be obtained from the Chinese stores, are heated and the requisite holes are burned with them. 396 [412 177] [439]

For the main planks of the *mon* a tree called *panots* (the same as that employed for rafts) is used. A large tree will provide five or six planks for a medium-sized *mon*. The tough outer skin of *Lygodium dichotomum* (*azam*) is used for binding them together, and the seams are caulked with *Parinarium laurinum* (*atʃitʃ*), the 'putty nut'. 396 824

Method of construction. The technique employed in the manufacture of *mon* in this area differs very considerably from that practised in the British Solomons as described by Ivens (1927, pp. 149 ff.) and Woodford (1922, pp. 508 ff.), as does also the appearance of the canoe when finished. I watched the procedure both at Petats and at Kurtatchi, but as I did not see the early stages at Petats, I take the description which follows from my Kurtatchi note-book, and shall use the Kurtatchi terms. The Petats terms are given by Friederici (1912, p. 290), who does not, however, give details of the construction. 396

The first business is to cut the planks. Those for the bottom of the *mon* are about 6 inches wide in the middle, and are tapered off to points at each end. They are planed with an adze (*turarar*) to a thickness of [illegible] inch. The outside of each plank is charred by being held over a fire of chips (Pl. 50*a*). It is then rubbed smooth in the sand, and 'set' by being dipped in the sea. This is said to make the planks seaworthy, 'the same as tar', as one man said. (The men who have worked on plantations have seen white men tarring their boats.)

There is no sharp keel. The plank ([illegible]) which forms the middle of the bottom of the *mon* is laid on the ground, and a plank ([illegible]) is placed on either side of it. The adjacent edges of both, which have been bevelled slightly, are then pierced by a row of

396 and put on a stand consisting of logs (*papan*) resting on forked
[417] sticks (*atōn*) at a height convenient for working. It is now turned
over again, so that the end of the *lamut* curves upwards. Some
[824] strong creeper (*wawal*) is tied round the bottom plank, threaded
through between the two adjacent planks, and fastened round the
papan, so as to fix the canoe securely to the stand. Lengths of
creeper are also passed through between the side planks. These
side planks are now pressed outwards by pushing between them
[401] a couple of stout sticks about 2 feet long, pushing against one side
while resting the other end of the sticks against the other side.
Suddenly the whole thing opens with a cracking noise. The outer
planks are then pulled down and tied firmly to the supporting logs
by means of the strings threaded between them. This pulls them
still farther apart, till all five lie almost in a flat plane. Some con-
siderable pressure is needed to pull down the second side after
the first side is secured. Both ends of what are now the outer planks
are then tied firmly round their tips, binding them together and
to the end-keel.

386 Women or boys are now pressed into service for grinding up
the 'putty nut'. This is done on lumps of brain coral. When
396 freshly ground it is of a pinkish-yellow colour, but rapidly turns
824 red. In a few days it has become dark red, and in a few weeks
quite black, and very hard. It must be used when freshly picked
and freshly grated, and must be put on rapidly in the shade, as
it begins to harden very quickly. It is thickly plastered over all
the seams, on both sides, by means of the worker's fingers (Pl.
51 *a*, *b*). There is then an interval of several days to allow the seams
to harden.

396 When work is resumed, the supporting sticks are removed, and
the holes which were left because of their presence when the seams
were 'puttied' are filled in. In cutting the third pair of planks
(*bátawa*) a ledge (*bĕbĕkil*) is left running inwards for about a foot
from each end. Holes are made in these ledges opposite one
another, the distances between them, about 2½ inches, being care-
fully measured with a piece of fibre. Short, stout braces (also called
bĕbĕkil) are wedged in between the planks, and tied into place
through these holes. After being placed in position, the *bĕbĕkil* are
served with *asam* over their whole length. Six is the usual number
for a small or medium-sized *mon*. Their object is to strengthen
the canoe at its slender, pointed ends.

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out of a solid piece of wood, in one piece. The pattern is always the same, varying only in size (Fig. 23). The seats themselves (*poan*) consist of planks merely laid on the top of the *mapō* without 396

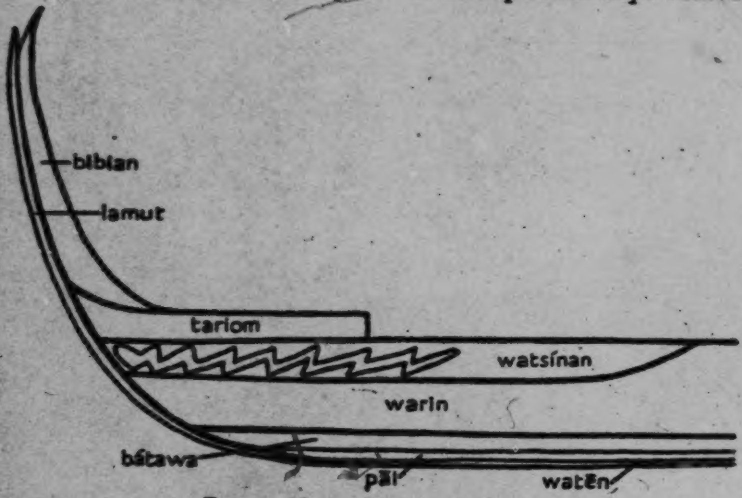

FIG. 22. Names of parts of a *mon*.

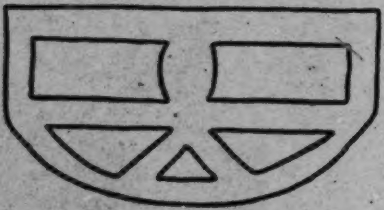

FIG. 23. *Mapō*, rib-frame of *mon*.

being fastened, which has the disadvantage that they are continually slipping, and having to be readjusted *en route*, to the great discomfort of the paddlers. At Tabut, while I was there, one man decided, on his own initiative, that it would be an improvement to make the seat in one piece with the *mapō*, and this was done on one canoe as an experiment.

On gala occasions both ends of the *mon* are decorated with streamers of grass, coloured a reddish-purple with a dye made from the roots of *Morinda citrifolia* rubbed on a piece of coral and mixed with lime, and then boiled with the grass it is desired to dye. These streamers (*kimar*) are fixed to the *lamut*.

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824

intended to support. These uprights are set up about 2½ to 342
3 feet apart; they vary in number according to the length of the house. Narrow slats, flat on the inside, but left slightly rounded on the outside as they came from the tree, are inserted between the two rows of uprights, and held in place by being tied with rattan to the uprights between which they are supported. These slats are obtained from the areca-palm or one of its numerous wild varieties. The two lines of slats thus arranged edge to edge form the side walls (*oror*), the height of which is about 2 feet (Pl. 54 *a*). The *kurik* are cut off just above these.

The house-posts (*toan*) must then be set up. Holes are made for them by pushing a pole into the ground. One man stands in position beside each hole, and all the posts are set in at the same time (Pl. 55 *a*). They are grasped in both hands and raised high in the air, and then thrust into the ground with all the force at the worker's command. This is repeated several times until the hole is deep enough, and adjustments are made so that the height of each post is correct. If the men cannot drive the posts in far enough they will sharpen the point, if this does not suffice they will cut a piece off. They do not take the trouble to drive them in far enough to be really steady. The structure holds together in its entirety, but each individual post will probably be shaky. The number of posts varies with the length of the hut, three for an ordinary living house and four or five for a men's house is the usual number. The principal [565]
house of the *tsunaun* also has four or five, owing to the addition of a porch in front of it. The posts are in three rows, one row along the middle line and one on either side. The posts are made of hard wood, and as they are, on this account, somewhat laborious to fashion, they are often brought from an old house to serve in a new one. They are carved at the upper end in a simple design which does not vary much in different posts (Pl. 54 *b*). Any one may carve them. The top is shaped into a shallow curve in which to rest the long horizontals which they are intended to support. The posts for the centre of the hut (*gus*), supporting the ridge-pole, are slightly higher than those on either side (*wal*).

The horizontal supports for the roof (*pa'i*) consist of the aerial [824]
roots of the banyan, which are of uniform thickness throughout their length. They are selected some time before they are required, and laid out to season, kept from the ground by resting upon logs. Several men are required for putting them into position on the top

342 of the *toan*, and every one manifests great anxiety till they are pronounced suitably placed (Pl. 55 *b*).

[824] Thin, flexible strips of the wood of a tree called *ariko* are prepared; the upper end of each is split and inserted into a second strip, forming an arch. This arch is lifted by a man at each end of it and fitted over the *pa'i*, so that the apex of the arch, formed by the crossed split ends, rests on the ridge-pole (Pl. 56 *a*). These form the rafters (*wakwal* or *tartaras*) to which the thatch is to be fixed. They are tied firmly to the top of the *oror*. After a single pair has been put on in front, another at the back, and one at the level of each row of house-posts, the others are put on in groups of ten or more. Laths (*papom*) are then laid along the length of the [824] house, and each of these rafters is tied to every lath separately, where they cross each other, by means of a tough fibre taken from the inner bark of a tree called *riŋto*. The fibre is passed over the top, up from below, and over the top again, the ends being tucked under. A large house will have six laths on each side. The one nearest the ridge-pole is fixed first, then the next below it, and so on. The lowest one has to hold the lower ends of the rafters down over the edge of the walls; it is difficult to fix owing to the amount of spring in the rafters, which are held taut with logs rolled against their free ends while they are being tied on to the lowest pair of laths a little higher up. The ends are left projecting, but are cut straight, leaving enough to overlap the walls about 6 inches. Another *pa'i* is laid upon the crossed ends of the rafters where they rest upon the ridge-pole, and tied down to it by fibre twisted round between the rafters. This is finally covered by a piece of bark or by a matting made by plaiting together the fronds of two coco-nut palm leaves, forming the apex of the roof.

The house is now ready to be thatched. The thatch is made of [824] the leaves of the sago palm. In some places, where sago palm is scarce, the long, narrow leaves of a species of river reed (*manob*) are used instead. The sago-palm leaves are brought to the village tied in great bundles. When required for use, the mid-rib is first removed, and leaves are then folded over a long strip of bamboo, [413 825] generally two, sometimes three, together. A slit is then made through all the layers just below the cane by means of a pointed implement made of the bone of a porpoise or a dugong. These are preferred to European knives, which are liable to split the leaves too far. Holding open the slit by means of the same im-

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

the heightened walls, with a space between them and the roof, render the new style of houses an improvement from the point of view of hygiene. It involves some readjustment of native habits, if only for the reason that fires cannot so readily be made inside the house, though this difficulty is being met by the provision of an earth hearth in one corner.

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[354]

TERMS USED IN CONNEXION WITH HUTS

(*Kurtatchi dialect*)

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192

Term	*Explanation*
inu	hut.
a oror	the two side walls.
kurik	the uprights supporting the side walls.
kōbū	the planks of areca palm of which the side walls are made.
u bē	rattan, with which the *kōbū* are tied to the *kurik*.
toan	general term for all the carved posts which support the roof.
taras a toan	to carve the house-posts.
pegets	very hard wood, red when cut, of which the *toan* are made (? a species of mahogany).
gus	the taller posts in the centre, which support the ridge-pole (three or more along centre line of hut).
wal	the posts on either side of these.
pa'i	ridge-pole and two side poles, resting on the *toan* and running the length of the hut, to support the rafters. These are made of the aerial roots of the banyan (*o ō*). If it is required to distinguish the ridge-pole from the side poles, the former is called *gus* and the latter *wal*, corresponding to the verticals on which they rest.
walwal or *tataras*	arched lathes forming rafters of roof, supporting thatch.
ariko	tree from which the *walwal* are cut. (*Cordyline ferrea.*)
rigto	tree (with large yellow flowers) the inner bark of which is used to tie *walwal* to cross-slats.
papom or *kikinot*	slats running parallel to side of house at intervals on both sides, keeping the *walwal* in position.
toktok	poles laid across the structure to serve as scaffolding, afterwards removed.
matchpu	upper ridge-pole, laid on the top of the actual ridge-pole after the *walwal* have been put into position, resting on them where they cross each other.

[824]
[824]

342 192	*pirpo*	lower of two cross-pieces at ends of hut, and across at each house-post. Any kind of wood may be used for these.
	tokoman	upper of two cross-pieces at ends and at house-posts.
[824]	*a tō*	sago palm whose leaves are used for thatch. Thatch also called *a tō*.
	nin	outer bark of stem of plant of that name used to tie sheets of thatch to the *walwal*.
	gerom or *girum*	mid-rib of sago-palm leaf, used to fix leaves together in lengths to make thatch.
	tſir a tō	to prepare the sago-palm leaves by taking out the mid-rib.
	kisib	to make the holes for fixing the leaves together.
	tſiku a tō	to fix the leaves together into lengths ready to put on.

The men's house.

342 The men's house (*tobár*) is made in exactly the same way as the ordinary huts of the village; the size varies according to the number of people who are likely to use it. Besides serving as the sleeping apartment for the boys wearing the *upi*, the *tobár* is the men's club; its front verandah is seldom without a group of men sitting or [485 614] standing round talking and chewing the betel mixture. To it male guests from other villages are taken on their arrival, each to the *tobár* of the clan to which he belongs.

The *tobár*, two or more, as the case may be, are sometimes placed just outside the main line of huts, from which they may be screened by a hedge of trees or a bit of uncut bush. But often they are placed in the centre of the village, abutting on, or actually in the precincts of, the central space where dances are held. [487] The three *tobár* of the original village of Kurtatchi were a little to one side of the village, and had special paths leading from them to the shore, which might not be used by women, who avoided their vicinity altogether. The two which were constructed after the moving of the village of Gomen to join that of Kurtatchi, were built at one end of the central space, between the two lines of huts added by [768] the Gomen people. The hut of a man who had died was taken down to make room for them, the boys who had shared it with him being afraid to go on living there. Even in that prominent position, the *tobár* were strictly avoided by the women, who always made their way round by the back of the lines of huts.

342 574 *Ceremony on completion of tobár.* The completion of a new *tobár* is signalized by a feast involving the killing of several pigs,

342 574 [562] other clan resident in the village, but these were not allowed ~~to eat~~ in the house. The women of the Manu clan ate on the back verandah, outside the house. This is the only occasion on which women may come to the men's house. When all the provisions had either been eaten or packed up to take home, the people dispersed.

In accordance with the practice of making the most of an occasion, this feast, which was primarily intended for the new men's house, was also made to serve for the burying of the pillow be- [304] longing to Gonu's father, and for the piercing of the nasal septum of four boys who had reached the appropriate age. Both of these proceedings are described elsewhere (pp. 492 and 425).

Fire-making

372 Fire is made by the stick and groove method (Pl. 57). A stick of hard wood, whittled to a point—now by a trade knife, but formerly by means of a black-lip oyster-shell or with the teeth, is rubbed along a larger piece of soft wood, held down firmly, on the ground or on a log, by a second person. The person rubbing crosses his fingers over the rubbing-stick and moves it up and down using considerable pressure, till a groove is formed in the softer wood below. The dust rubbed away is pushed into a heap at the far end of the groove by means of a splinter. No other tinder is used. The time required varies considerably with the skill of the performer, but a spark is usually produced in a few seconds. The spark is then blown very carefully until the sawdust at the end of the groove ignites.

● [824] Several kinds of trees were named as being suitable for both the rubbing-stick and the grooved stick. It is essential that one should be hard and the other soft, and that the wood used for the grooved stick should have a straight grain.

372 TERMS USED IN CONNEXION WITH FIRE-MAKING

192

Term	*Explanation*
tsura	fire.
io to iun no tsura	I make fire by rubbing.
wakō	to hold the stick on which the other man is rubbing. This stick has no special name.
wenium	the pointed stick with which the rubbing is done.
kawu	the sawdust produced by the rubbing, which becomes the tinder.

sáksak	wooden beater. 223
ráko	round flat stone used to beat on. (*Rako* is the generic term for 'stone'.) 192
hatsībélo	shell resembling a cockle, used to scratch the pattern on the rim of the pot.

Operations.

tápo	knead ball of mixture of *petako* and *memia*.
pósala	hollow out ball of mixture with hand and *rako* to make bottom of pot.
bṓnōna	put on a coil of clay round the edge of an unfinished pot.
sak	beat down the coil with *saksak* and *rako*.
sáhi	smooth over with wet hand.
hatahamátsko	(lit. 'make good') pinch off bits of the edge to make it even after putting on the last coil.
nṓnoa	put on the ornamentation round the edge.
túntún	fire the pot.

Women's hoods

292
602

The hoods (*tō* or *dʒillō* in the Petats dialect, *tákop* in the Kurtatchi dialect) are worn by the women of Buka and the north coast of Bougainville (but not on either east or west coasts of that island) in accordance with the rule of avoidance of the relative called *halis* in the Petats dialect and *waris* in the Kurtatchi dialect, i.e. the husband of a daughter or a sister's daughter, and his brothers (see p. 73). The women carry their hoods with them whenever there is the least chance of coming across one of these taboo relatives, and put them on at his approach. They are worn in any case on all special occasions, such as a ceremonial visit or a ceremonial *kōma*. The women also find the hoods useful to keep off rain or the heat of the sun, and are careful to protect the heads of the babies they carry on their backs while working. When not in use, the hoods are folded up along the joins of the leaves of which they are made. To put on the hood is *uwa takop*.

294
824

The hoods are made of pandanus leaves. The strong mid-rib is first stripped off, and the prickly outer edge of the leaf is cut away with a knife made of the black-lip oyster shell. The leaves are then left for a little while to dry in the sun. The next process is to rub them with sand very thoroughly, to clean and smooth them. They are then rolled up tightly and laid on the ground, where they unroll a little. There they remain till thoroughly dry, being turned over

294 824 occasionally. They are by this time bleached to a pale greenish-grey, which goes yellow with use.

294 386 In the finished hood, sections of these leaves, left in this state, alternate with sections covered over with the leaves of another plant, coloured red. The dye is made of the roots of the tree *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*), which are first washed in the sea, then crushed on a stone, and then boiled. After they have boiled for a long time the water is drained off and the leaves dipped in it. The dye is not permanent, but fades in a few weeks. These leaves are not rolled up like the pandanus leaves, but are folded, and then hung up to dry in the shade.

294 [412] [283 824] When making the hood a woman starts with one leaf doubled. Another leaf is then sewn on to one side, and a third to the other side. They now use needles, but formerly made holes with a sharp fragment of shell and threaded the fibre through them. The thread is made in the same way as a man makes a fish line, by rolling on the thigh. Each worker makes her own as she needs it. It is made from the fibrous inner sheath of the stem of a creeper (*lok* in the Petats dialect, not the same one as is used for making string at Kurtatchi as described on p. 342). The leaves are joined with a running stitch; when it is finished the work is turned over and the join pressed out. When a piece of the required length has been made, it is put aside till another is finished. The two are then fastened together along the two long sides, a piece of thread being laid along the edge of each, and the joining stitches passing over and over it, showing on both sides. Or one length may be made, twice as long as the hood is intended to be, and doubled so that the doubled edge has no sewing. The worker is now handling a flat piece of material consisting of two layers of leaves, sewn together, the whole being about 2 feet broad and varying in length from 2 to 3 feet or more. Some women like their hood to come just over their shoulders, some wear it hanging almost to the ground.

294 531 The hood is then completed by being doubled and joined at the top with stitches in a wavy line (Pl. 62*a*). Some women are very skilful in ornamenting the leaves with a pattern of stitches made with flat strips of fibre dyed red and black, but most hoods are left plain, except for the red leaves, which are stitched on over the others when the two layers are joined up.

184 436 438 The Petats women make large numbers of these hoods, and trade them to the people of the hill villages of Buka and to the

Manufacture: Slit-gongs are made of hard wood. The name of

the tree from which the wood is taken is *tolos* (P.) or *toras* (K.). 549
Some villages do not know how to make these instruments for 824
themselves; those who require one either buy it from other villages 184
or pay workmen to come to their own place to make it. There were 436
three unfinished ones in the deserted village of Gomen; those who commissioned them had not wished to pay the men of Hanahan to finish them. The best are said to be made by the people of Sollos, the hill district of Buka, to whom the art was first taught, according
to the legend. Ownership of a *garamuts* is individual, and is re- 422
stricted to persons who are *tsunaun*. A Kurtatchi man bought a 565
fair-sized instrument from the island of Pororan for one fathom of 435
paio (ceremonial currency of flying-fox teeth), one fathom of *beroan* (shell-disk currency), and ten bamboo lengths of *oin* (red paint). The man who made it demanded another fathom of *paio*, but did not get it.

They are made in the bush, where a shelter is erected over the 549
spot. In the olden days they were shaped with stone or clam-shell implements, but now the outside is worked with metal blades hafted like an adze. Sticks are fastened along the top to define the narrow opening. The inside is then hollowed out with iron pig-spears or with knives fastened on to long rods. This used to be done with clam-shell tools. Leaves are rubbed on the instrument in process of working to make it easier, so that it will be finished quickly. They are also rubbed on the hands of the worker, together with lime, and then smeared over the slit-gong. I could not learn if any form of words is used with this procedure. If the instrument is left too long unfinished the wood gets too hard to work. To make one is considered quite an important undertaking. If two people work on it fairly constantly it takes about three
weeks. Only a few people know the procedure; they pass on their [462]
knowledge to any one they care to select. Anybody can watch it being made, but the women take no part in making it.

Slit-gongs vary considerably in size. The largest I saw measured 534
about 8 feet in length, the smallest about 3 feet. None were made at the village of Kurtatchi, but Karabun of Tabut made a small one at my request. This, though smaller than those in general use, was more than a model, since it was used in several dances before being handed over to me. The people were delighted with its tone, in fact some of them wanted it to be retained in the village instead of being given to me. It is decorated with a conventional pattern.

535 852 mother's pack (see Pl. 17). At such times they take up the men's wheel formation.

535 184 At Tabut I once saw a variation of the women's steps, taking the form of imitative movements which might be called 'figures'. One represented getting water; some women danced in a ring and one in the centre imitated the action of pouring water into a coco-nut. Another 'figure' imitated the planting of taro. I saw nothing of the kind at Kurtatchi or any other village I visited, and the Kurtatchi women said they did not know how to dance in any other way than the usual.

USE OF COLOUR

386 302 Colouring matter is freely employed, both on the person and on the various objects manufactured. The colours in general use are red, black, white, and yellow, in that order of importance. There are several ways of obtaining each of these. Colouring matter used for personal adornment is mixed with coco-nut oil before being applied to skin or hair. The generic term for such a mixture is *us*, which I have translated 'paint'.

386 317 438 *Red.* Several kinds of red paint are distinguished by special names. They are all varieties of red oxide of iron (haematite),[1] formed in the neighbourhood of volcanoes by decomposing the vapours of ferric chloride with steam. The kind giving the brightest colour, and therefore the most highly prized, is called *oin*. It is obtained from the people living in the mountainous hinterland of Bougainville, who have access to the volcanoes in the interior. The natives of the east coast near Numanuma act as intermediaries to pass it on to the people of the north coast as an object of barter. *Owan*, a rather muddier red, consists of impure iron oxide with some iron sulphide, which might be obtained from an ironstone nodule embedded in a clay deposit. It can be found on Buka, but the exact locality is unknown to me. A third variety, intermediate in colour between the other two, but nearer to *oin*, is called *itʃu*, [431] and is used when *oin* is not available. At the present time the natives also paint their faces with carmine, which they get from the Chinese stores.

386 [824] Leaves and canes are dyed red with a preparation of *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*). Details of its use are given in the sections

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[1] For the identification of my samples I am indebted to Mr. C. J. Bayzand, University Demonstrator in Geology, Oxford.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

describing the various articles so treated. The coast natives do 386
not know the secret of making the colour permanent, they therefore [184
buy dyed leaves for special purposes from the mountain 438]
people, who have discovered how to use a mordant (see p. 231).

Black. The substance which produces black paint (*tʃina*) consists 386
of selected fragments of volcanic ash which have been attacked
by acid vapours after volcanic eruption. This is obtained from the 317
people of the interior in the same way as *oin*. Black is also produced 438
by mixing charcoal with oil. Ordinary wood from the fire may be used for this purpose, but more often coco-nut shells are charred and ground up specially. Black thus obtained is called *aniv*.

White (*iwi* or *wiwi*) is made from powdered sulphur from a 386
volcanic deposit, and, like *oin* and *tʃina*, must be obtained by barter
from the people of the interior. This kind of paint is used chiefly 317
for making the line round the edge of the hair on forehead and 438
temples. For the head, lime (*iav*), obtained by burning branched 302
coral and crushing it, is used. Combed well into the hair, it gives the appearance of a powdered wig (Pl. 66*a*). The result of this treatment is eventually to bleach the hair to a reddish-yellow. If the individual tires of this, he can make his hair black again by a liberal application of *tʃina*. The drastic change thus suddenly produced in a man's personal appearance is very striking.

In painting wooden objects, such as paddles and canoes, white 386
is produced by rubbing the surface with the seaweed *mō*, a calcareous 824
alga. A handful of this is taken, freshly gathered from the reef, and rubbed, wet, over the portion to be coloured, without further preparation.

Yellow to be used on the person is made from crushed coral prepared 386
as for making *wiwi*, to which a preparation of the leaves of
the mango tree is added. The leaves are either squeezed in the 317
hand or chewed, and then mixed with the lime powder. A yellow 824
dye, for grass or cane, &c., is made from the tuberous rhizome of the plant *totomoin* (turmeric, *Curcuma longa*). The tuber is scraped, put into a pot with water, and heated but not boiled; the substance to be dyed is then put into the pot and left to soak.

Discrimination of colours.

I obtained the terms for different colours by showing to 151
various people the coloured paper disks furnished with the Milton 192

302 or put on the fire. Anybody, apparently, may cut or trim the hair, so long as they do not stand in any of the taboo relationships. Men [513] may do it for women, whether related to them or not. It is regarded as a privilege as well as a duty for the wife to trim her husband's hair on the occasion of a dance or a ceremony. There is no change in the fashion of dressing the hair consequent upon marriage.

302 During a period of mourning it is forbidden to cut the hair or to
515 put paint on it. After the death of a person of rank this prohibition
765 extends to all the people of the village, for a commoner only to his immediate relatives. The period is terminated by a feast. For some misfortune affecting the whole village a similar prohibition may be enforced. During a part of my visit, several people in the village of Kurtatchi were affected by very bad septic sores and by common consent for several weeks no one put paint on the head or cut the hair, those not affected observing the prohibition as well as the sufferers. When they had all recovered, a feast was held, in preparation for which everybody trimmed the hair elaborately and put paint on it.

Ornaments.

301 Ornaments worn in the hair include carved combs, made of bamboo (Pl. 67, no. 9), flowers, feathers, &c. The tail-feathers of [237] the domestic cock are in great demand on festive occasions, indeed the birds seemed to be valued solely for this purpose. This form of decoration is called *sab*. Small red, green, or yellow parrot feathers are very highly prized, and are stuck into the hair in all directions, like pins in a pin-cushion. The particular kind most admired cannot be obtained in the neighbourhood of Kurtatchi, but comes from a variety of parrot found only in the hills. Flowers are stuck into the hair one on each side of the head above the ears. Small red and yellow ones are chiefly used in this way, but a single large hibiscus is sometimes seen worn over the forehead. I have seen girls wearing round their heads branches hung with limes; ● [524] this has a very picturesque effect. The leaves of a number of aromatic plants are also worn stuck into the hair, and those of a white variegated form of the fern *kakariuk* (*Selaginella flabellata* Spring). These white leaves are eagerly sought for in the bush, and women will pull the plants up by the roots and plant them nearer the village. Live butterflies are frequently fastened to the hair by a thin bit of fibre and left to flutter round the head, or their

301 wings are torn off and fixed one on each side of the head (Pl. 66*b*). [824] Dabs of a phosphorescent fungus are put on the face for special occasions, and may also decorate the ends of *mabu* or *piu*.

Necklaces of aromatic plants are often worn. These may have [789] more than an ornamental value, since many of them are regarded as 'medicine' useful in love magic or to ward off the *urar*. More permanent necklaces are made of opossum teeth, threaded on fibre through small holes made in one end of the tooth. I have seen these [412 holes being pierced with a primitive rotary drill, but was told that 177] this had been learned from elsewhere by people working as plantation labourers, and that no means of piercing the teeth were known before they became acquainted with this drill. At the present time many possess necklaces of trade beads, either with or without opossum-teeth interpolated. Only very small coloured beads are liked. Some necklaces of larger beads which I brought with me as presents, because they had been very successful among the American Indians, were of little use because they were considered too heavy. Strings of small beads are also worn round the wrist, and put round the waists of infants. I do not remember seeing any native form of finger-ring.

Arm-bands (*pog*) made of plaited fibre in patterns of red, black, and yellow are almost universally worn. They are not made locally, but are obtained from the hill people (see Pl. 67, no. 5). Less elaborate arm-bands are made by plaiting grass (no. 4) or strips [887] of sago-palm leaves (*pog a tō*) (no. 3); the old men spend their leisure time making these. They are of different widths up to over an inch. Arm-bands serve as receptacles for any small articles they may wish to carry about with them, such as a pipe or a stick of tobacco. Here and there, especially at ceremonies, one may see a native wearing bands of trochus shell such as are common in other parts of Melanesia, but they are exceptional and are not made in this area (Pl. 67, no. 8).

The most highly prized ornament is the *pirir*, a disk of clam-shell with a fine piece of tortoise-shell filigree work superposed upon it (Pl. 68). These are worn as pendants, on ceremonial occasions only. In the olden days they were also worn by warriors setting out to a fight. A few are still made, a knife being used instead of the piece of sharp-edged shell formerly employed for the carving; but the present workmanship is careless and the patterns comparatively uninteresting. To save the trouble of rubbing down the hard hinge

The belts made by women during the period of mourning

for a

301 *tsunaun* (see Chap. XIV, p. 497, and Pl. 75) have a warp of the fibre
765 growing round the base of the banana palm. The black threads in
565 the weft are obtained from the trunk of the bush banana (*wirtsun*);
283 white ones consist of the same substance scraped and rubbed with
824 sand. The yellow threads are made from the midrib of the leaves
of a plant called *kiki'ie* (*Cycas* sp.), dyed with *totomoin* (turmeric).
The red threads of the specimen figured (in Pl. 75) were drawn
from the maker's loin-cloth; in the olden days she would have taken
leaves of the plant used in making the red part of the women's
hoods, dyed with *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*).

Deformation of the Person.

304 *Head.* Babies' heads are manipulated at birth and afterwards
for some weeks, by pressing the hands at the back and sides to
make them perpendicular. The effect desired is that which is increased
by the method of hair-dressing. At birth it is done by the
old women attending, frequently the grandmother, afterwards by
the mother whenever she thinks of it. There is no 'cradle-board
854 deformation'. Babies are put to sleep on the ground, on a woman's
hood or a plank, but their position is varied, and they do not spend
a great deal of time on their backs, so that no pressure is exercised
in this way. No head-dress or bandage is used on babies. They are
not nursed on the arm persistently enough to influence their head
form at all.

304 *Nose.* A baby's nose is pinched soon after birth to make it grow long. A flat nose is much disliked and is a subject of ridicule. The septum is pierced at the age of five or six. It is done to children of both sexes, and is still general. The reason given is that if the septum is pierced, when the individual dies, the worms will go through the hole and will not eat the body.[1]

304 As a rule, a special feast is made on the occasion of the piercing.
852 But if a feast is in progress for some other reason, it will be made
to serve for the piercing as well. Should the village be in mourning
for a *tsunaun*, so that no feast is permitted, the operation
may be carried out without one, if the children's parents do not
wish to delay it till the end of the mourning period. The actual

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[1] See further discussion in Chap XIV. For another instance of the connexion between nose-piercing and the fate of the dead, cf. Codrington (1891, p. 256) who states that in Florida the ghosts of those whose noses were pierced could follow the easy path.

The 'unofficial' marking consists of cuts made with a shell or a piece of glass, some more or less random as to their direction, some in sets of three, when they are supposed to represent the trail of the hermit crab (*sisir a kobar*). They are made on the arms or chest (see Pl. 11). Or a weal in the shape of a hollow circle may be made on the chest by pressing the hot bowl of a pipe against the skin; this is called *mama'ets*. A small, solid, round weal, frequently seen in rows down the back of the arm, is made by pressing the cut end of the stem of a leaf of the tree called *lasebē* on the skin. A white milky sap is exuded which after a day or two causes an eruption not unlike that consequent upon vaccination which leaves a permanent weal, but it does not 'take' on some people. To mark themselves in this way is a favourite amusement with young girls. Scars are also made by pressing the stalk of a coco-nut, which has been heated in the fire, on to the surface of the skin. There is no ceremonial attached to these forms of marking. 304 [824]

The formal cicatrization is a much more elaborate affair. A man is usually scarred on chest and shoulders and the upper portion of the back, a woman all over her chest and abdomen, and frequently also on the thigh, not quite to the knee. Some people have the face scarred; in this case the body is not done [illegible]. 69*a*). Certain patterns are signs of rank, others may be used by any one. The amount of cutting done depends entirely on the wish of the parents. It is not hereditary, but a father will often have his son cut with the same pattern as he has himself. Not every native is thus marked. Some account for their untouched skins by saying that they ran away at the time the ceremony was to be held, in which case it is not, as a rule, forced upon them later. It is gradually falling into disuse, being severely discouraged by the missionaries. [554] [177]

I did not see the operation performed. Nawi, the girl whose first menstruation ceremony is described in Chapter VIII, was ready for marking, but she was to go to the village of Baniu, where she had relatives, for the ceremony, as soon as there was enough taro for the necessary food-distribution accompanying it. The ceremony could not be performed at Kurtatchi because the *watawatʃ* had not been performed for the boys; pending this the cutting ceremony was taboo. If it were done, the girl would die, and her relatives would be very angry and 'make poison' to kill the people who had committed this breach of rule. The mere possibility was referred to with horror, and appeared to amount to 304 852 [881]

The new put in posts for

them,[1] to rest on. The platform, when finished, is about 2 feet wide 304
and about 4 feet from the ground. (Measurements shown by 852
gestures.) [417]

A number of children are usually operated on at one time. The
child of most importance is taken first. He is made to lie on the [554]
platform, and some women hold him down. The child's mother, father, brothers, and sisters must stay inside their own huts. They must not see the operation; if they did, the child's skin would prove hard, the knife would break, and the operation would be a lengthy one, and would probably not be finished at sunset. If this should happen, the mother takes the child away at sunset, and the marking is left unfinished. It may, however, be finished subsequently.

The woman who is to do the cutting prepares herself by chewing [824]
the root of the plant *mogo* with the betel-mixture, and rubbing the mixture on her hand. This ensures that she will cut quickly and that her hand will not be heavy.

All the time the operation is proceeding the women *kōma* and [533]
the slit-gong is beaten. They say that this is done so that the child will not feel the pain of the cutting, but my informants admitted that they knew it had no such effect, but merely drowned the child's cries.

Women hold the child's legs and arms, and a man holds his head back so that he cannot see what is being done. If the face is to be cut, this is done first, no further marking being cut until the face has healed, or the body may be left without marks. The children to be operated on subsequently are kept inside the hut.

The child cries and screams all the time. He will say: 'Oh, mother, I am dying of thirst, let me come down and have a drink,' or, 'Father, come and take me away, I am dying.' He says to the woman who is holding him: 'Put me down; I want to go and relieve myself.' He is only making an excuse to get away. The woman takes no notice.

A big branch of the tree called *reyto* (which has soft leaves) is [824]
planted near the platform, the leaves are used to wipe away the blood at intervals so that the operator can see what she has done.
The blood is caught in a *kōbū* (dish made of areca-nut fibre). It is 304
then thrown into the sea at a certain place. This place is taboo for 226
fishing, and women may not get shell-fish from the reef there. For 784
Kurtatchi, the place is called Ur; it is on the beach a few hundred

[1] [i.e., poles for the horizontal section of the platform—A.]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

304

226 784 yards west of the site of the present village. A big stone called *Musoa banui* marks the place.

304 752 824 When the cutting is finished, the skin is first washed, then lime is rubbed in. *Tanek* (betel-pepper) is chewed and spat upon the place. Then a dry coco-nut is scraped, and a pinch of the scraped meat is taken between the finger and thumb of the operator and dabbed on to the sores. This is to make the scab of the sore come off so that it will not fester underneath. If the sore becomes septic, coco-nut oil is rubbed into it, and pith from the stem of the plant *rurupari*. If the cuts are made too deep, they 'break open the belly' and the child dies. The names of two Kurtatchi children who had died in this way were given to me.

304 852 When one child is finished, the man who has held his head takes him on his shoulder and goes round and round while all the women *kōma* and the slit-gong is beaten. The child is then taken into the house and another brought out.

304 852 574 After all the children have been cut there is a small feast. One pig is set aside for it, and the women prepare taro. The food is distributed among those present; they all eat; then the platform is taken up by the men and brought into the hut.

304 852 After the operation is finished, the children must stop inside the house for ten days, only coming out to relieve themselves. The girls must put on their hoods whenever they come out for this purpose. [825] If they do not, or if children of either sex walk about too much, white ants will get into the sores and make them very painful. A girl who is cut about the thighs is so sore that she cannot bear to wear a loin-cloth, but goes naked.

As a rule, several children are cut at one time, both boys and girls. Naniu, Tapē, Bori, Puta, and Tawar were all cut together. This indicates that the ages vary considerably, since Maniu and Tawar are now, I estimate, about 9 or 10, Bori about 19, and Tapē and Puta somewhat older then Bori. It is best to have the operation done when the child is young. Some are cut much later and are sometimes made very ill by it.

304 The effect of the operation can be seen from the photographs (Pls. 69, 70). Not infrequently the wounds become septic and heal badly, with results which we should think very disfiguring, but which do not seem to be so considered by the natives, though they are not admired as much as well-marked patterns. By no means extreme cases of badly healed cicatrization are shown in Pl. 71.

437

the road to meet them, instead of waiting where we were, but this was vetoed by the older women as not being the proper thing to do. 438

There is no ceremonial attached to these journeys, but there are 437
'medicines' which may be used to ensure getting good bargains. 780
A typical one from Kurtatchi runs as follows: Before setting out 78:
with a load, chew the root of the plant *wakalau* (unidentified) with 824
the betel-mixture and spit on the taro, then the other people will like it and will buy plenty and pay much fish for it.

This exchange is carried on regularly between the following 435
places in the area with which this book is chiefly concerned:

Fish from Petats and other islands off the west coast of Buka 437
exchanged for taro from the hill villages of the centre of the island, 438
especially Gagan, Potaki and Sapani. Meeting place: an agreed spot on the Government road running through the centre of the island. Rates: 1 large fish for 12 taros, 1 medium-sized fish for 6 taros.

Fish from the Saposa islands, off the north-western corner of Bougainville, for taro from the Hahon people of the northern foothills, who come down to the coast at an agreed spot, opposite the Saposa islands. Also from the Kunua people farther inland and to the western side of Bougainville, who come down to the coast at a place called Kavetch, some miles down the western coast. Since this involves a journey of some distance for the Saposa people it is made at longer intervals. Saposa also exchanges its fish for the taro of the Sẽlõ people and those of Tabut, on the north coast of Bougainville, who have good ground in the north-western peninsula. Meeting-place: the southern shore of the peninsula, on Soraken Bay. Rates: With the mountain people, 10 fish for 10 taros. With the Sẽlõ people, 2 fish for 6 taros. These rates are said [773]
to have been fixed for them by Morena, the 'culture heroine' from whom they trace their origin as explained in Chapter II. That was the only explanation given when I inquired as to the reason for the difference in the exchange between the two places. It is possible that the fear with which the mountain people of Central Bougainville are still regarded by the coastal people may have something to do with the favourable rates accorded to them.

Saposa also figured in an exchange in the reverse direction, giving taro to Kurtatchi in exchange for smoked fish on several occasions when Kurtatchi needed extra taro for some special

XIII

MAGIC AND MEDICINE

000 IN the foregoing chapters of this book the magical procedure connected with various aspects of native life and activity has been described in its appropriate context, as an integral part of the situation to which it is applied. Its fundamental importance in the lives of these people will be evident. In the present chapter an attempt will be made to analyse the facts previously presented in order to arrive, if possible, at some notion of the point of view of these people with regard to magic in general. It is first necessary to give some account of an aspect of the subject which, though often mentioned, has not yet been discussed in detail—the use of magical procedure with evil intentions.

BLACK MAGIC

754 It is exceedingly difficult to obtain information about black magic, since those who know about it keep their knowledge very secret, especially as nowadays the Government takes a serious view of such practices. No matter how carefully I approached the subject, I was always referred to some one else, no one wishing to admit that he possessed this knowledge. What little information I managed to obtain is here given with full realization of its inadequacy.

The term for the most dreaded form of black magic is *oragun*, which was explained as meaning 'poison to kill people'. To use it against any one is *ora punin*, 'to make poison'. Every native, and more particularly every *tsunaun*, goes all his life in fear that some enemy will bring about his death by this means. I was told that ● [824] if a man wishes to 'poison' some one, he plants *nibnib* in his path. *Nibnib* is the generic term for an ornamental or aromatic plant, such as is much in vogue for wearing in the hair or armlets. My informant would not tell which particular plant would be used, alleging—I thought falsely—that he did not know. Another man, after extracting a promise from me that I would not let any one know who had told me, gave me the following account: 'If a man wants to make another man die, he puts a small unripe coco-nut

754 on the ground near the door of the man's hut at night. The man walks over it, then this man picks it up and puts it in the fire. Then the man dies, he has no sickness, he dies quickly. He does not lie down even for one day, he is not ill even for one night, he talks, he walks about, he is quite well, then he just dies, that 's all.' A death of this kind is called *wasō*.

[824] A different method of 'making poison', obtained from another informant, runs as follows: 'Take the plant *korowin* (a shrub, unidentified) and burn the stem in the fire. Then put some of the buds up in the rafters of the man's house. As they dry, the man will waste away till he is nothing but skin and bone. When you want him to die, burn the buds. But if you are sorry for him by and by, and want him to get better, throw the buds away.'

In the nature of things, I could not verify or check these pieces of information, which were given to me in confidence, and it is not impossible that the vital part of the procedure was withheld; I give them, therefore, without guarantee, for what they may be worth.

[278] [622] In some cases it is supposed that actual poison is mixed with the food. Pinari, as *tsunaum tʃan* by right of inheritance, and paramount chief of the district by Government appointment, considers himself to be in very special danger of poison, of which he is obviously in great and constant dread. He told me that when he goes up into the mountainous hinterland he likes to eat only in one place, with a man whom he knows to be his friend. If this is impossible, he takes men with him who keep a sharp look-out and always eat with him. Another instance, said to have occurred shortly before my visit, was related to me. A man named Tatowan went to a neighbouring village, not too friendly to Kurtatchi, and ate some pig there. He returned home, but next day he died *wasō*. His death was said to have been caused by 'bad lime' given him at the meal.

754 824 The people say that a number of different kinds of leaves and roots that grow in the bush are used for 'making poison'. But no one would confess to knowing which they were or bring me any specimens, with the one exception noted in a previous paragraph. This behaviour was in marked contrast to the helpful interest they displayed in my investigations into plants used in making other kinds of 'medicine', for which they willingly scoured the bush. While it is possible that some of the plants may actually be poisonous, it is

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not at all necessary for the purposes of the sorcerer that they should be, or even that he should suppose that they were. Perfectly harmless plants could be used equally well. This question has been discussed by F. E. Williams in connexion with the Orokaiva (1928, pp. 211–14); with the conclusions there given I am in complete agreement.

754 'Poison' can also, as among other primitive peoples, be made with anything which has been connected with the person of the victim, not only fragments of hair and nails, &c., spittle, faeces and urine, but even the discarded shell of the areca-nut he has chewed, fragments of his food,[1] or the leaves he has touched with his body where he lay down to rest in the course of a journey. For this reason, when in strange country, precautions are taken not to leave anything which could be so used, where some enemy might find it. But individuals differ a great deal as to their carefulness in such matters. This is probably a question of temperament, quite unconnected with any slackening of belief on the part of the younger generation, who, in this respect at least, seem to hold to these ideas as firmly as their elders, as I observed on many occasions. My friend Marotē was one of the most meticulous. She would never even fling banana peel, &c., away in the bush where it would be lost among the foliage, as other people sometimes did. Once I was going along a bush path with a party of women, eating mangoes as we went. They threw the stones and peel away into the underbrush without scruple, but immediately afterwards took enormous pains to stamp out all traces of the betel-mixture they spat on the path. Even modern innovations due to the white man may be used for purposes of 'making poison'. On a bartering expedition with some Petats women to the mainland of Buka, I once, during a halt for refreshment, let fall some small crumbs of biscuit. The women insisted on hiding every smallest crumb before we left, looking round the while in obvious distress and whispering 'Sollos'—the name of the district in which we were. They would not say anything more at the time, but told me later that it would never do to let the Sollos people find the crumbs in case they 'made poison' against me and caused my death. These precautions are not considered necessary in one's own village, where areca-nut shells, frag-

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[1] It is said that a man will sometimes offer ceremonial currency to a woman if she will procure for him some of the food of a person against whom he wishes to 'make poison'. If she refuses she will probably die.

754 When a man becomes ill, and it is suspected that some one has
755 'made poison' against him, certain remedies may be used in the
-824 hope of counteracting its effects. Typical of these is the following:

Maneroa (a plant, unidentified).

Chew pieces of the root with the betel-mixture, and spit over the body of the sick man. Scrape the skin off other pieces of the root and wrap the scrapings up in leaves. Lay this bundle on the man's thigh, just below the fork. Take a bunch of *koav* leaves and wave it over his belly with a downward motion. This will send the poison down into the bundle, and it will leave the man's body, then he will get well.

If you have to go near a place where you think some one has made poison, for example over the betel-pepper vines, scrape the stem of the plant *nin* and put it on the sole of your foot, then the poison will turn to water and will not harm you.

When an enemy has 'made poison' against the whole village (i.e. in times of general sickness, such as an epidemic), the following procedure is practised; it is said to 'turn the poison to water':

Scrape the skin of the stem of two creepers, *kuritsē* and *karamusis*, mix with scraped coco-nut meat. Rub down some 'putty nut' and mix it with the other things. Give some of the mixture to all the men in the village, who must make fires all about the place and put the mixture into the fire. This makes a dense smoke. Then take the stem of *maribean* (*Fleurya aestuans*), cut it into small lengths, and make them into bundles, wrapping them up in leaves. Plant these in the middle of all the roads leading to the village. No one in the village must eat any of the foods usually obtained from the bush, such as mangoes and canarium almonds.

For the following account of treatment for poison, in use on the island of Pororan, I am indebted to Mr. Gordon Thomas.

'In the case of a man becoming sick from supposed poisoning the "doctor-man" will prepare a drink combining the *kobol* (the young unripe coco-nut) and the juice from the leaves of a native tree *kokohak*. The preparation is made as follows: The top of the *kobol* is cut off with a knife, care being taken that the nut does not break in the cutting, otherwise the patient will die. Ten leaves from the *kokohak* tree are then picked, and the juice—a milky fluid—is allowed to drip into the *kobol*. The juice will float on the top and have the same appearance as that of pouring oil on water. After the drops of the *kokohak* have been put in, the "doctor-man" collects the ten leaves and hides himself in the bush, there to sit in meditation until his skin becomes cold and tired with waiting. When this

stage has been reached, he will then collect the *kobol* and proceed 754
to the house of the patient. Entering, he fastens the door, and gives 755
the *kobol* to the patient, who drinks the mixture. The two of them
then go outside the house and the "doctor-man" obtains the leaf 824
of a native vine *pahu*. Biting off a portion himself he gives another
portion to the patient, and the two masticate the leaf, mixing it with
betel-nut; chewing and spitting out the masticated juices. The two
then re-enter the house, and a *pahu* leaf is hung up inside the house
in such a position as to hang near the face of the patient when he
is sleeping. The patient goes to bed and sleeps. In his sleep he 754
dreams that he is endeavouring to find the man who gave him the 755
poison, but a spirit visits him in his dream and prevents him from 787
seeing the man; explaining to him that he has not been poisoned
at all. In the morning the "doctor-man" inquires of the patient
as to what he has seen during the night. "I saw no man who had
poisoned me" replies the patient, or words to that effect. "I am
well now, I have not been poisoned, for the spirit told me so."
The patient then makes a speedy recovery.'

Other forms of harmful magic. There are milder forms of harm- 754
ful magic which are not considered in the same light as 'making 627
poison', but as legitimate methods of punishing some one who
has done you an injury. These were told to me in the course of
discussions on the use of various plants for medicinal purposes.
There was no secret about them, and they were clearly regarded in
the same light as any other 'prescriptions'.

If a thief persistently steals your taro.

Scrape to a powder the bones of a crocodile, and bury some of this [825]
powder (*wesopini*) on the road to the taro garden, where the thief will
walk over it. When you know that he has done so, take up the package
and burn it. The thief will get a bad sore on his leg.

For a man stealing coco-nuts.

Take some leaves of the shrub *rurupari*, put them into a young coco- [824]
nut which has been emptied of its milk through the eye. Lay this on the
ground in the coco-nut grove. Chew the root of the same shrub with
the betel-mixture, spit on some dead branches and throw them down
where the coco-nut is. When the thief comes into the grove his belly
will become very painful, so that he cries out. He will not be able to
walk, but will crawl home and lie down in his house. Then you must
watch till the tide comes in, and then plug up the hole in the shell of the
young coco-nut. This makes the thief short of breath, and he stays at

754 home whenever the tide is high (i.e. when he ought to be out fishing),
627 but at low tide he is always hungry and goes round asking for food. After
[824] a time he will go mad. If you are sorry for him and wish to cure him of
his madness, squeeze a small plant called *bokono* into water and give it
to him to drink, then he will be all right again.

Another method:

[824] Fill up a bamboo with salt water. Chew the root of the plant *gogō* and spit it into the bamboo. Lay it across the path to the coco-nut grove, where the thief will walk over it. Then watch for him secretly, and when you are sure he has walked over the bamboo, take it away and burn it. Shortly afterwards the thief will become very ill.

789 To revenge yourself on a man who has done you an injury, by
627 causing the sea to break up his canoe:

[824] Get the leaves of the shrub *korōwin*, both red and green kinds. Pound them to a pulp, mix some *sisiwa* with them, and put the mixture inside a cleaned-out coco-nut shell. You must fill it quite full. Go to the shore and dip the coco-nut shell in the sea, then pull it out, and bury it in the sand among the bushes, a little above the place where the water reaches at high tide. The next tide will come up to the spot. After two days dig up the coco-nut and put it farther back, and do this every two days until the tide has come up so far that it breaks the canoe belonging to your enemy. The sea follows the coco-nut because the *sisiwa* is strong and pulls it. When you want the tide to become normal again, break the coco-nut full of mixture and throw it away.

Kakari did this at the request of Murē, because two other men had damaged Murē's *mon*. The result was to make the tide come up till it smashed up a *mon* belonging to one of these two men. (Note. *Mon* (plank canoes) are kept on the shore and are sometimes damaged by exceptionally high tides.)

789 Apart from these, it will be noticed that forms of procedure which under most circumstances may be directed towards quite legitimate ends, may at times take on an anti-social aspect, as when love magic is used to entice another man's wife. Sometimes the 'prescriptions' in my collection are accompanied by a statement to the effect that while they produce certain desirable results from the point of view of the person using them, they are harmful to his rivals, e.g. they will prevent other canoes from catching fish while your own is taking plenty, or will make your taro good and other people's bad. This is apparently accepted, at any rate no secret was made of such 'medicines', and there was no emotional tension displayed in dis-

cussing them, as was the case with any practices savouring of 789
'poison'.

WAR MAGIC

Fighting is for these people a thing of the past, and I did not 726
make it a subject of special investigation. The following scraps
of war magic, which came my way incidentally, are perhaps worth 789
placing on record.

To make a war canoe go fast. (Petats.)

Catch an *arori* (a special kind of snake) and cut off about three inches [825]
of its tail (length shown by gestures). Put this in the bottom of the *mon* and fix it there with putty nut. It must remain there always. You must let the snake go. It soon grows another tail.

This is only for *mon* used in fighting. It makes the canoe outrun all the others and catch up with the enemy. It is not done to *mon* used for bonito fishing. There are no words used in this medicine.

The following account of preparations for an attack, and the capture of a prisoner, was given by Pinari, himself an old warrior, who had, as was obvious from the way in which he told it, himself often taken part in such raids.

'When our people went to fight in the olden days they would first prepare *wiriako*. To do this you take some lime, and the tip of an [826]
ear of a *tsunaun* belonging to the enemy, whom you killed in another fight, and a bit of his eyelashes, and a bit of his pubic hair. Put these into a leaf with the lime, and make a bundle of it. This is powerful medicine belonging to the *urar*. Get leaves of *kiwar* and [824]
hang them down the backs of the men who are going to fight.

'When you are ready to go out to fight, the man who understands about the *wiriako* undoes the packet, takes a pinch between his finger and thumb, puts it to his lips, and blows it in the direction of the enemy, calling out:

"*Pah!* *Gun ma* *ti* *si* *nom ini!*"
Exclam. "Get (*imperative*) man that (he) come here."

He beckons with one hand, holding the packet of *wiriako* with the other hand, and says:

"*Di ma ia!* *Di ma ti si* *nom ini!*"
"Fetch him! Fétch man that (he) come here!"

'Then the spirit (*abtn*) of the man comes and enters the packet of *wiriako*. The man in charge of the packet binds it carefully and

726 sticks it into his arm-band. Then he speaks to his men: "You wait,
789 presently the enemy we are after will come up; this *wiriako* will
make him come up. You have your knives and axes ready."

'The man they are after wakes up and yawns. His skin feels bad. His ears are fastened, the *urar* fasten them up, so that he cannot hear. His eyes are no good, he looks at our men and thinks they are trees. He sneezes, his belly shakes.

'Then the leader of our men takes a spear in his right hand and an axe in his left, and creeps forward with knees bent. He motions to his men to surround the place silently. They creep up, with fierce gestures. The leader jumps up, spears his man in the side, and cuts him over the head with the axe; then he takes him on his
shoulders and carries him off, shouting. (All this was illustrated
[537] very dramatically by Pinari, to the delight of the rest of the party.)
When the fight is finished, the leader takes a pinch of *wiriako* and puts it on the front of his ear, and on his nostrils, then he eats a little of it, and it makes his stomach strong.'

To ensure that a man's aim with bow and arrow shall be straight, he may employ the following procedure:

> [824] Take the root of *mwanē* (*Leptaspis Banksii*) and chew it with the betel-mixture, rub your bow and arrows with the chewed mash. Spit more of the mash on to the flower of the same plant and wear it in your hair when you go out to fight

DISCUSSION

789 754 Without entering into the controversy that has raged round the meaning of the word 'magic', I shall venture, in the pages that follow, to use it in its widest possible connotation, so as to bring together under this label all the various means, transcending his own ordinary exertions or those of his colleagues, by which an individual (or a group) within the area under consideration seeks to further purposes or to obtain objectives which seem to him desirable.

Summarizing briefly what has been said in previous chapters, it appears that the main occasions on which a native of the North-Western Solomons feels the necessity of supplementing his normal exertions may be grouped as follows:

1. At certain critical epochs in the life-history of the individual, e.g. birth, certain episodes of childhood, marriage, &c. The explicit purpose of much that is done on these occasions, as stated by the

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

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ing it, even when giving explanations to me apart from any actual 775
ritual occasion. It is obtained from the Hahon people, in exchange 778
for ceremonial currency and other valuables. They are said to get 789
it from a hot spring in the mountains, at a place which belongs to
Tosisiup, who lives in the volcano Balbi and has power over all the 823
urar (see p. 505 for further account of him). It was only with great difficulty and in exchange for a valuable present that I was able to obtain a small quantity. It proves to be lava which has been attacked by acid vapours after the dying down of volcanic activity.[1]

The power possessed by *sisiwa* is not specific, since it is employed 788
for many purposes. Its use in love magic, in fishing magic, and in 778
a form of black magic has already been noted. It is significant that
no formula is ever used in conjunction with this substance. On 775
making careful inquiries as to this, I was told that *sisiwa* is such strong medicine itself that it does not need any words used with it. This definitely stated belief goes to show that for these people magic is not 'an essentially human possession, literally and actually enshrined in man' (Malinowski, 1926 (2), p. 71). The underlying principle here seems rather to approach the conception familiar to anthropologists as *mana*, though I did not come across in these dialects the actual word *mana* or its equivalent. This 'wonder-working power perceived or at most dimly conceived by the savage to exist in whatever excites his awe' (Marett, 1929, p. 14) the *sisiwa* would acquire from its origin in the place belonging to Tosisiup, the ruler of all the *urar*, everything connected with whom is regarded by these natives with awe. This brings it into line with Codrington's statement that 'spirits, whether disembodied souls or supernatural beings, have *mana* and can impart it' (1891, p. 119).

The connexion with the spirit-world, or rather with the place of ghosts, is further emphasized by the fact that the other of these powerful substances, only less mighty than *sisiwa*, is called *magór*. Magor is the name of Tosisiup's brother, who is second only to
him in the realm of the dead. The magic mixture contains scraps [823
of bark, roots, and leaves, belonging to various plants, and *oin*, 824]
which is red oxide of iron. Unlike *sisiwa*, it may be associated with a form of words, as in the love magic given on p. 122 and the taro magic given on p. 301. But it is sometimes used alone, e.g. in fishing magic, where it may be chewed and spat on to the line. Another of its virtues has not yet been noticed. To make a man

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[1] I am indebted to Mr. C. J. Bayzand for this analysis.

opinion had it that the death of the child was due to the 'bad 761 medicine' made by a man of Hanahan to whom its mother had refused her favours. He had intended that she should die also, but this had been prevented by my more powerful medicine. He had then renewed his efforts, this time with the desired result. Far from blaming me for the woman's death, which I had feared might be the case, they applauded me for having circumvented the man's evil intentions in the first instance.

SUICIDE

To commit suicide (*nòg boboriŋ*) is recognized as a death for 762 which magical intervention need not be suspected. Three methods are followed, the individual jumps off a tree or from the edge of a cliff, or hangs himself from the rafters of a hut, or swallows the chewed root of the plant *tʃū* which is also used for stunning fish.[1] [824] No case occurred during my visit, but I was told that not long before my arrival Poa, a middle-aged man, had taken his little son (aged 5 or 6 at the time of my residence) to the edge of the cliff and had only just been pulled back in time to prevent him from throwing himself and the boy over, the reason given being that his wife [593] had been angry and had insulted him. The brother of my next-door neighbour, Sobak, hanged himself for a similar reason. A woman now living at Ruri, the 'sister' (actually mother's sister's daughter) of one of the boys at Kurtatchi, hanged herself because her husband beat her, but was discovered in time to be resuscitated. Another woman, the mother of Matarɛ, also hanged herself, but 'Krapen and Tchub worked on her and she came back'. Besides these actual instances, which were corroborated by the evidence of other villagers, suicide figures in several of the stories of times past (*wasisio*) in my collection. Some or all of these may well have been authentic, but I have differentiated them from the foregoing because no names were given by which the account could be checked. The reasons given were as follows: because his wife refused him intercourse on the ground that it was too soon after her confinement and would therefore harm the child (see p. 157); because his father would not get him a wife; because some one had stolen his ceremonial currency; because he was angry with another man; because her husband beat her.

These reasons may appear extremely trivial to lead to fatal

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[1] Cf. Fortune (1932), p. 50.

764 are sounded and the slit-gong beaten to give the time to the dancers. 535 The rhythm goes like this:

[533] ////../../../..////../../../..

The dance is kept up till dawn breaks.[1]

764 During the time when the body is up on the platform, a *kun* (kind of tray made of *tolas*, a very hard wood, used for cracking almonds [415 upon) is set up in the village, and people shoot at it with bows and 824] arrows, and throw spears, which break on it because the wood is so hard.

Coco-nuts, drinking and dry, and taro and sugar-cane from the gardens belonging to the dead man and his relatives, and other people, too, if they wish, are heaped up at the front verandah of his house. Taro with the stalks still attached is hung up in front of the house, under the eaves. A tall tree is set up in the middle of the heap of coco-nuts, and strings of ceremonial currency (*imun* and *beroan*) belonging to the dead man and his relatives are hung up on it. Some strings are also fastened on his wrists and ankles. These latter can be taken by any one who wishes, if he puts other strings in their places. Those substituted need not be so valuable as those removed. The strings on the tree are afterwards brought back into the house and remain there.

As long as the body remains in the house the widow can eat only one taro a day. She may not chew the ordinary betel-mixture, but can chew two kinds of wild areca-nut, *kiŋ* and *kawiwi*. All those who touched the man after he was dead may not eat anything,[2] but they may chew the betel-mixture. If this prohibition is not kept the body will stink quickly.

When the time comes for burial the body is carried out by the male relatives. They walk round the heaps of coco-nuts and taro, then they bury him in the graveyard. Axes, knives, spears, and paint are put into the grave with him. In the olden days these were

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[177] [1] This dance was performed on the last occasion of the death of a person of *tsunaun* lineage, but as the dead are now buried by the mission teacher, Matarē said it would never be performed again. Both he and his audience were very dramatic in their description of the dance, and seemed to regret it more than any other part of the funerary ritual.

[2] Questioning made it clear that this prohibition was intended to apply to the whole of the time (five or six days) that the body remained in the house, but it would not be literally adhered to; a little taro would be eaten unofficially ('stolen' is the exact translation of the word used) just as in the case of the girl secluded during her first menstruation (see p. 253).

765 set up a tree with plenty of branches on it in the middle of the place
called *wanib*, and hang up the belts on it.

Some additional details concerning the women's first visit to the
taro garden after their seclusion were given me in the course of an
account by another informant, an old man, at a later date. The
widow plants a taro stalk, another woman takes it out again and
lays it on the ground, then another woman plants it again, and
this goes on till all the women in the village have had their turn.
[778] Then the women stick up a tree in the taro garden and hang ornamental and aromatic leaves on it; the widow, as she hangs each
spray, calls out the names of all her relatives who are dead, saying:
'My mother, I put this *nibnib* (ornamental plant) for you', 'My
father, I put this *nibnib* for you', and similarly for her brother, her
sister, her child, her *waris*, if they are dead.

[565] Then one man who is *tsunaun* makes a fire and calls the names
of all the *urar*, who have died before. He puts taro, coco-nuts, and
areca-nuts on the fire, the fire burns them up. Then the men start
working on the taro garden, clearing away the rubbish, and the
women plant.[1] While they are working they must not eat. If they
were to do so, the *urar* would fight them and make them mad. They
all put lime in front of their ears. They take down the belts from
the tree where they have been hanging and put them on again.
Then, if the fire has been made and the food burnt, they may eat
a little in the *wanib*.

765 Then a *ta'un* plant (a species of cordyline) is planted in the
● 824 *wanib*. Every one goes off and hides just outside the taro garden.
565 The *ta'un* plant stands up on the edge of the taro garden. Then
a man who is *tsunaun* calls out the name of the man who has died.
The wild spirits of the bush answer the first time, the man
765 calls out twice more, then the dead man's own spirit (*abin*) comes
775 howling. The *tsunaun* calls out: 'You come, let us go to the village,
824 all the people have gone.' They all look at the *ta'un*; if it bends over,
the man's spirit (*abin*) is sitting on it.[2] If it does not bend, the

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[1] As explained in Chapter I, taro can be planted at any time of the year.

[2] Compare with this the procedure employed to know whether a man gravely
[763 ill will die or will recover. 'Take the root of the plant *markŏt* and give some to the
824] sick man to eat. Take also a small branch of the same plant and hold it upright
near him. If he is to die his *abin* will come and sit on top of the branch and it
will bend over, if he will live it will stay straight.' This procedure was taught to
Tchiriv by the *urar* at a time when he was *iburar*. They also taught it to another
man who is now dead.

765 man's spirit is ashamed. In that case the *ta'un* plant is pulled up
775 and thrown away. But if it bends it is taken up and put on to a
man's shoulders. If it is a woman who has died her hood is put
824 on the top of the plant, on the man's shoulders. It is felt by the man carrying it to be heavy. When he gets tired he calls out and another man takes it from him. Perhaps it will suddenly cease to be heavy. This means that the spirit has gone to relieve himself. Then the man carrying it stands still and waits till he feels it to be heavy again, then he calls out and they all go on again.

When they get back to the village they all go into their own houses and fasten the doors and remain silent. The man carrying the *ta'un* goes straight to the front of the dead person's house and enters it and plants the *ta'un* inside the house. Then the dead person's spirit stays inside the house.

765 From this time until the ceremony for the removal of the belts,
515 all the people of the village must refrain from washing themselves,
302 from cutting their hair, and from the use of red paint on their heads
and bodies. This applies to children as well as to adults.

765 On the following day, all the men and women who wear the belts go and wash their legs in the sea. They take a tree with many branches and set it up on the shore, fixing it in the sand. Then the women go and search for shell-fish on the reef, wailing the wail for the dead the while. They must catch a large quantity of shell-fish. The men sit down on the beach, or they may, if they like, go and catch fish with nets.

When enough shell-fish have been collected they make a fire on the beach, and make it flare up. They call upon the *urar*, and say: '*Tamu sen en ia, so bai'i gag, ner wopots no in ta tamu.*' ('Here is your taro, eat it, then the children can drink, and will grow strong because of the taro.') Then some taro is put on the fire. They all take their lime-pots with lime in them, and walk round the fire holding them in their hands, then they tap on the lime-pots, take out some lime, and put it in their ears. The belts are now taken down from the branches of the tree and put on again. The shell-fish are put into baskets and the women take them back to the
village and cook them. The women eat the shell-fish at the back
[264] verandah. If the men have caught any fish they cook it for themselves at the front verandah. If they have plenty they send some to the women, if they have none the women send them some shell-fish.

158 some five miles away, he had not had time to go there in reality
775 before he was caught), and then he came back and took the road
to the old village (in which the brothers had died) and one of the
828 *urar* told him to come along with them. Then his son came and took his arm and told him he must not run after people, and brought him back to his own house, and he went to sleep. Since then his back and his legs had been hurting him. He looked terribly thin and worn, like a person recovering after a long illness.

The third case, which followed seven days after the one just described, was that of Tchiriv, a young man aged about twenty-five. He was lying on the front verandah of one of the huts, during a dance, when he suddenly jumped up and ran about shouting and throwing in all directions the pile of logs which were kept under the verandah for use as firewood. The people all ran away and shut themselves into their houses. He seized hold of a big *mabu* (musical instrument made of a hollowed log with a mouthpiece of coco-nut, an article of value) belonging to a neighbour, and smashed it all to pieces. Presently four of the younger men rushed up to him together, and seized him, and brought him, kicking and
[755] struggling, to a bench outside one of the huts, where they held him down, screaming, while another man blew powdered lime over him.[1] Presently he quietened down and was put to bed in his hut. The next day he remained indoors, and they said he was sick. Matarɛ̄ said he didn't know that he had broken Togen's *mabu*; when they told him he would be very sorry and would pay for it.
[788 Matarɛ̄ told me that Tchiriv said he had been to the graveyard to get some coco-nuts from the trees there, and because the priest
177] had forbidden it, he did not make a fire and burn some taro for the *urar*, so that they should not be angry with him for taking coco-nuts from their ground. So the *urar* were angry with him and made him mad. I did not see him at all that day until the evening, when he came out of the hut, which was very near to my house, and walked past my fence with his eyes turned away. I took no notice of him at that time, but next day when I found him standing by the fence, looking sheepish, I made a friendly remark to him. He seemed startled, but soon after came up on to my verandah and

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[824] [1] There is also a plant, called *pindī*, the leaves of which, if chewed with the betel-mixture and spat on to the head of the affected person, will cause the *urar* to leave him.

must once have done. About 3½ feet of it remain. It is propped 324
up against a tree; they say it used once to stand up beside it. Down
one side run a series of shallow depressions, which may or may not
be the work of nature. There is no sign of any incised pattern on it.

When the story of Tchinaleke (see p. 530) was told me at
Kurtatchi, this stone, leaning against its *tʃiniv* tree (the kind of [501]
which dug-out canoes are made) was clearly indicated as the one 824
which represented the woman. But on arriving at the spot, I was
assured by men living near by that Tchinaleke was the stone lying [552]
below at the foot of the cliff, and that this one was called Pepes,
that it belonged to the olden time, and that they knew no more
about it than the few details I have given above. With that I had,
therefore, to be content.

Stone pillar on North Bougainville coast

About half-way between Gomen and Ruri, there is a portion 324
of a stone pillar which must have been originally similar to those
on Buka (Pl. 79 *a*). It is in the bush, not far from the top of the 773
cliff. Only 2½ feet of it are standing; it appears to be the top
section of a pillar, since its end is rounded like all the others. It is
said to go down a long way into the ground. If all the men of the
village tried to move it they could not. But once the Hahon, the
people of the mountains, enemies of the coast people, stole it.
Having succeeded in getting it out of the ground, they slung it on
a pole as the natives do pigs, and a large number of them carried it.
But the pole broke. They cut a thicker tree, but that broke too.
Then they cut a very large tree, all the men they had could scarcely
carry it, but that broke too, and at night, while they were encamped,
the stone made its way back. There are two little stones beside it,
rounded either by rubbing or by the action of water; I could not
be sure whether they were pieces broken off the big one or not.
They are called its children. Once the people of Ratsoa (a village
a short way into the foot-hills) carried them away in a pack with
some ceremonial currency, but when they got home and opened
their pack the stones were not in it; the *urar* had brought them
back to their mother. The owner of the stone was angry with
the Ratsoa people, and raided the village; then he put the little
stones back in their places and made a feast.

The stone is called Mubenoits. One of the men of the village— 324
the father of one of the present inhabitants, who is now an old man [552]

159 832 explicable along similar lines. The two which are here given were told to me in the course of my inquiries after plants powerful as 'medicine', and had no connexion whatever with any of our discussions on dreams.

To make a woman desire you

[824] *Rarakot* (a grass with numbers of small sticky seeds).

Take the roots and some of the seeds when they are ripe. Chew them with the betel-mixture, go to the woman with this in your mouth and talk with her. When she has answered you, go away. At night the woman will dream of you. In the morning she will come and ask you: 'What have you done to me? I dreamed about you.' You say: 'No, I did nothing to you, but you and I talked together while I chewed something.' The woman dreams about you every night, and if she sleeps during the day she dreams about you again. By and by you two get married.

To make a woman visit you

[824] *Wadodowu* (a small plant).

If you dream in the night that you have connexion with a woman, you get up at earliest dawn and get a leaf of this plant, rub it in your hands and wash it in a river; then go back to the village and the woman will come to you.

TYPE DREAMS

159 787 Of the 'type dreams' listed by Dr. Seligman (1923, p. 188, supplemented by letter) as common among the white races, my collection contains instances of all but one, the absence of which is easily explained. I have no evidence, however, that they bear in the Solomon Islands the meanings usually assigned to them in Europe, and also discovered in other parts of the world.

1. *Flying*. ('Usual meaning, good luck, success.')

Three examples. Also given as a dream that recurs. Sensation regarded as pleasant, but no definite meaning assigned to it, so far as I could ascertain.

2. *Fire*. ('May refer to reproduction or some form of creative energy.')

Only one example, in the course of a complex dream related by an old man (No. 13, p. 554). 'By and by I tried to light a fire but it would not burn.' The dream was regarded as a good one, but the relevant part of it was other than the fire.

APPENDIX III

824
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789

Identification of ~~some~~ of the plants used for medical and magical purposes by the natives of Buka and North Bougainville[1]

Botanical name	*Native name*	*Portion used*	*Purpose*
Acanthaceae	*karawinoa*	leaves	in childbirth
Achryanthes aspera	*towano*	leaves	for a boil
		root	for swollen leg
Aspidum latifolium	*tskirir*	leaves	for a boil
Barringtonia sp. (edulis ?)	*karu*	bark	in childbirth
		„	in fishing magic
Bidens pilosa	*rakot*	root	stomach-ache
		leaves	taro magic
		„	love magic
Biophytum cumingianum	*owa gürus bai'i*	whole plant	magic to make child go to sleep
Calamus sp.	*gartan*	root	constipation
		„	fishing magic
		leaves	headache
Calophyllum sp. (Inophyllum ?)	*tui*	root	septic sore
		bark	rain magic
Canarium commune	*winoa*	bark	pain in back
			bad sore
			fishing magic
Caryota sp.	*kat fian*	bark	yaws
		fruit	hunting magic
		root	taro magic
		root and leaves	fishing magic
Codiaeum variegatum (croton)	*takuruts*	root	septic sore
Codiaeum variegatum (croton)	*sisiŋ*	root	love magic
		leaves	rain magic
Coleus Blumei var.	*iag*	leaves	magic to prevent sunstroke
		„	used at betrothal
Coleus sp.	*muntĕ*	root	cramp in leg
		leaves	magic to induce sleep
Cordyline ferrea	*ariko*	root	constipation
Cordyline terminalis	*ta'un*	leaves	feverish headache
		„	in menstruation ceremony

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[1] For the majority of the identifications I am indebted to the authorities at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

Botanical name	*Native name*	*Portion used*	*Purpose*
Cordyline terminalis	*ta'un*	leaves	at funeral rites 824
		„	for rain magic 278
		„	many other magical purposes 789
Crinum asiaticum	*bariur*	root	in childbirth
		„	coco-nut magic
		„	fishing magic
Cycas sp.	*kiki'iē*	midrib of leaf	to make mourning belts
Cymbopogon sp.	*manini*	leaves	for blood in urine
		root	fishing magic
Desmodium adhaerens	*roabē*	leaves	for sickly child
		„	stomach-ache
Desmodium adhaerens	*rarakot*	leaves and root	fishing magic
Digitaria pruriens	*maras*	whole plant	to make child grow
Dryopteris milneana or truncata	*pupuna*	leaves	for a boil
		root	for wound made by embedded arrow
Dryopteris mollis	*tomtom*	leaves	to make child grow
Dryopteris pteroides	*ga-gē*	leaves and root	protection against sickness
Eleusine indica	*bakbak*	whole plant	to make child grow
Eragrostis tenella	*kokui*	whole plant	for scabies
Eranthemum Whartonianum	*harawinoa*	root	for indigestion
		„	to remove object stuck in throat
Eranthemum sp.	*burustē*	young leaves	for yaws
Erythrina indica	*wanōnō*	leaves	in childbirth
		bark	for broken bone
Euphorbia atoto	*potsip*	root	fishing magic
Euphorbia hirta	*sip*	flowers	cure for barrenness
Evodia hortensis	*owen, pawen*	whole plant	to protect against *urar*
Fleurya aestuans	*maribean*	skin of stem and root	for sore on sole of foot
Fleurya interrupta	*bobuaniur*	flowers	for sore on sole of foot
		leaves	at puberty rites
Ipomoea biloba	*winnin*	leaves	for digestive troubles
		„	to make pig grow
Justicia sp.	*t[illegible]kamani*	leaves	for strain or sprain
		„	for septic sore
		„	child's disease
		„	for stomach-ache
		„	for a boil
		„	to make child grow
Laea sp.	*bō*	leaves	for pain in breast after suckling

824
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789

Botanical name	*Native name*	*Portion used*	*Purpose*
Leptaspis Banksii	*suroard*	root and flowers	fighting magic
Licuala	*win*	root	contraceptive
Lygodium dichotomum Sw.	*asom*	root	contraceptive
		lower end of stem	to strengthen sickly child
Mallotus sp.	*haholon* (Petats dialect)	root	contraceptive
Malvaceae (hibiscus)	*oböb*	leaves and root	cough, and sore throat
		leaves	child's fever
Menispermaceae	*tatsir*	root	to control menstruation
Mollugo stricta	*kohsi*	whole plant	to make smoke to keep off mosquitoes
Morinda citrifolia	*viro*	bark	in childbirth
		leaves	dysentery
		leaves and root	fishing magic
Ocimum Basilicum	*massi*	leaves	rain magic
Oldenlandia paniculata	*rakot*	leaves	for a burn
Ophiorrhiza rupestris	*tuntun*	whole plant	love magic
Paspalum conjugatum	*wesis*	root	for sore throat
		sap	for stomach-ache
Pennisetum macrostachyum	*pai'uhu*	root	to make sea smooth
Phyllanthus Niruri	*tsunargin*	leaves	for pain in chest
Physalis angulata	*tot fapō*	seeds	cure for barrenness
Piper betel	*nik, paneh*	leaf-bud	love magic
Piper sp.	*mansisian*	leaves and root	headache and internal pain
		leaves	for a boil
		leaves and root	to relieve extreme pain
Pteris ensiformis	*sip-sip*	root	to control menstruation
Pteris tripartita Sw.	*pepuma*	leaves	in childbirth
Roxburghia sp.	*bakil*	leaves	for a boil
Rubiaceae	*haraminoa*	leaves and root	fishing magic
		branch	to keep away *urar*
Rutaceae	*harëb*	leaves	to cause abortion
Scleria lithosperma	*hablu*	grass	for fever
Selaginella flabellata Spring	*hahariak*	leaves	for feverish headache
		root	to control menstruation
Terminalia Catappa	*hart*	bark	for a sore
		leaves	for yaws
Vitex Lagundi	*paparas*	root	contraceptive
Wedelia biflora	*wiahan*	leaves	for a spear or arrow wound

Dwellings

House construction differs in the various parts of the region in 342 question. The Sir Charles Hardy Islands, the Carteret Islands, Buka, 171 and north Bougainville do not differ essentially from one another. Here the huts, for the most part, are situated one beside the other, five to ten in number, the gable ends with the entrance facing the street and the sides so close together that there is scarcely room to pass between them. These buildings vary in length from 6 to 12 meters and in width from 3 to 5 meters with a height of from 3 to 4 meters. The side walls are about half a meter high and consist of strips of the outer hardwood of a palm species, which are laid vertically next to one another and tied firmly to horizontal strips of the same material. Strong central pillars carry the roof, and thin strips of palm wood are fastened perpendicular to the ridgepole in such a way that they extend far beyond the side walls and, when the framework is covered with leaves, almost conceal these sidewalls. These rafters are connected and firmly attached to each other by roof laths, which run parallel to the ridge pole; as a rule the whole roof frame is slightly rounded. As roof covering either woven coconut leaves are used or far more frequently the leaves of another 824 palm--if I am not mistaken, Phytelephas; these leaves are placed individually on a rod about 1 1/2 meters long, and a leaf rib penetrates the individual leaves in such a way that they cover each other and cannot slide off the rod. These individual roof sections are now fastened next to each other and tightly over one another on the roof framework and make a cool impenetrable roof. The gable ends are faced with boards that are split from a tree trunk with an ax and carefully smoothed; and here, about one-half meter above the floor is the entrance, a small rectangular hole, just large enough for a man to slip through comfortably. On the same level with this entrance there is an approximately 1 meter wide platform which takes up the whole width of the gable end and is shaded by the projecting roof; this place is the favorite haunt of the women and children, who, at the slightest suspicious noise, slip from here into the hut and close the little door behind them. Inside, the huts are frequently divided by walls into individual compartments that serve for living, sleeping and cooking. The beds are usually board 352 and bamboo frames that are slightly raised above the floor; sometimes frequently finger thick; it is simply knotted in back. In Buka and north Bougainville the women stick a bundle of dried foliage under this belt so that the genitals are concealed. Young girls as a rule do without even this clothing. Over this first belt frequently a broader belt smeared red with ochre is placed; it is likewise called mávesi. It consists of strips of rattan laid next to each other, which are tied to each other with thin strands of thread in such a way that the rattan strips form the warp for the very carefully executed weaving. These belts are 5 to 8 centimeters wide; they are worn only by old and married women. In Taboroi on the east coast of Bougainville the married women wear large dried leaves of a fan palm, whose outer edge is embroidered with a delicate and broad pattern of dark fiber material; this apron is pressed firmly against the front part of the body with one hand when the wearer is walking or sitting. In a village inland from Taboroi I saw a very pretty genital apron on some women. It was made of fine fibers dyed red; a number of these fibers of eighty centimeters length were woven in the center -- for about ten centimeters of their length -- to form a cord of about the thickness of a pencil, and several of these strands were attached lengthwise to one another. The skirt is shoved underneath the belt and the woven part is then folded over the top. A few women were wearing over this genital skirt an even broader belt made of an approximately ten centimeter wide plant material (pandanus?); this was woven through with dark red fibers and wound several times around the waist. 291 [386]

Among the various clothing objects one must also name the umbrellas and parasols made of strips of pandanus leaves, which are used in the Bougainville Strait as well as in Buka. The rectangle of 100 x 60 centimeters which is made out of pandanus strips sewn together is folded lengthwise and sewed together at one end; to use it one places the upper sewed end over the head and lets the remaining part fall down across the back. This article of clothing is completely rain repellent. Sometimes it is made of natural-colored and red-dyed strips, and sometimes the edges or even the whole thing is worked with pretty patterns. 293 [824]

Jewelry is not extensively used. Natives like those of the northern Solomon Islands, who always have their weapons at hand and expend the greatest care on them, do not have a highly developed sense for bodily decoration. Gay-colored blossoms and foliage are occasionally used in the dances; a red hibiscus blossom in the black woolly hair is a favorite ornament of the young dandies. In addition, however, 301

banana leaves into which they put the half-finished pot while the upper 323
sides are being formed. When the pot is the right shape, then here and there--wherever the side walls seem to the maker to be too thin--little clay patches are added for strengthening. After the edge as well as the outside and the inside have been made as smooth as possible with dampened hands, a decoration in the shape of zigzag lines is frequently scratched on the edge. The manufacture of a middle-sized pot takes about an hour. The completed articles are dried for several days in the shade and then baked. This last procedure is very simple. Several pots are placed beside one another, and dry twigs and little pieces of wood are built up around them; then these are ignited and, for a certain time, new fuel is added; after about 8 hours the pot has been sufficiently baked and is ready for use. Pots of the most varied dimensions are to be found--between 15 and 30 centimeters in diameter, but rarely more. The form of the pots differs in the north and in the south of the region under consideration. In Buka and north Bougainville the form is conical, the sides are slightly rounded and the rim is not bent outwards. In Shortland and south Bougainville the [171] shape is almost spherical and the opening is narrow with a rim that is flared out.

After acquaintance with the Europeans and the introduction of smoking 323
tobacco the islanders successfully undertook the manufacture of pipes. Fif- 276
teen years ago you could frequently buy pipes there that were made of two pieces. The clay bowl had only a very short shaft, which was inserted into a thin stem, and the point of connection wrapped with bast fibers; today they have already made a certain sort of progress by preparing the bowl and the shaft out of a single piece and often decorate the bowl with engraved ornaments. The local product is now preferred to the European almost everywhere.

It is surprising that no one has come up with the idea of making clay 415
drinking vessels or water containers. Coconut shells are used exclusively 171
for these purposes. In the north they are superficially scraped on the outside with a stone; but in the south great care is often applied to their prepara- [324]
tion. In Shortland I have seen specimens that were provided with a coating made from the pulverized fruit of Parinarium laurinum; into this shell [23] disks and beads were pressed and delicate ornaments were formed by this means. They had two shapes: the one was spherical and called fasi, and the other had a short neck, which was likewise decorated like the above container, and called kungkuku. Now these containers are becoming rather

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I. Arrows with smooth tips:
  a) with a round tip;
  b) with a square tip.

II. Arrows whose tips are equipped with barbs:
  a) with barbs that are carved out of the tip itself;
  b) with barbs that are made of a different material from the tip, (that is, bones, fish bones, thorns, etc.) and are artificially connected with the latter.

III. Arrows with several points, used for catching fish.

The arrow consists of the tip and the shaft. The tip varies in length from 30 to 50 centimeters. It is always inserted three to four centimeters into the shaft and bound firmly to it with a fine bast thread; for greater strength the joint is coated with the pulverized fruit of parinarium laurinum. [824]

There are no poison arrows in the Solomon Islands although this assertion is constantly repeated. An arrow equipped with barbs is in itself a sufficiently dangerous weapon without needing to be poisonous in addition. Deep wounds inflicted by such arrows are highly dangerous because it is almost impossible to remove the arrow without leaving fragments behind. If the wound is in a fleshy part of the body, it is preferable to shove the arrow tip entirely through the wound; but if the arrow is in the trunk of the body--say in the chest or stomach cavity--then the wound is regarded as deadly from the very outset. The smooth arrows, although dangerous enough in themselves, do not cause such ghastly wounds, and these generally heal rapidly unless more sensitive areas have been damaged. The yellow fiber material with which the arrow tip is wrapped at its extreme sharp end, is not poisonous and serves solely to protect the point that otherwise would easily be damaged.

The shaft, on the average, is 1 meter long and sometimes even a little more. At the lower end it is almost always wrapped with fine bast fibers and smeared with the pulverized nut of parinarium in order [824] to prevent the shaft from splitting. The extreme lower end is notched as a rule; the notch is produced simply by making an oblique cut across the bottom; when the arrow is placed on the bowstring, the soft pith in the inside of the shaft gives without resistance.

In Buka and north Bougainville the arrow point is called *pill*, in 411
the Crown Prince Range and in Shortland *másnou* and (if equipped with 171

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The ornamentation in Buka is a double one: it consists either of a 171
row of the grotesque heads and human figures that are characteristic
for this region in varying arrangements, or it is a row of reversed vees.
All ornaments are executed in bas relief and painted black, red and
white. In the Shortland Islands the very high prow is frequently
decorated with a carved human figure; according to the statements
of natives this is a personification of the tutelary deity who grants [776]
auspicious sea voyages and wards off evil spirits. In Buka the prow
and stern are ornamented with an approximately 40 centimeter wide
fringe, which extends from the tip of the prow to the waterline. This
fringe (kehakehala) consists of red-dyed dried leaf strips of a species
of palm.

The joints are tightened by smearing them with the pulverized [824]
nut of parinarium laurinum. In order to give the light shell greater 396
resistance and durability, wooden frames are set into the boat, which
press firmly against the sides and are fastened to these at the edge.
These frames (in Buka called mapou) are cut from a single piece and,
corresponding to the inside shape of the boat, are almost semicircular.
The two upper ends of the semicircle are connected by a straight
piece of wood. From the middle of this two or three props lead to
the semicircle, which is thereby given greater rigidity. Also the
thwarts for the rowers serve this purpose; they are notched underneath
in such a way that the notches project beyond the edges of the boat
on both sides and prevent them from bending in or out. These boats
vary greatly in size; there are many that comfortably carry 40 adults
and in addition a considerable cargo. In the middle of the large
chieftains' boats a small platform is built on which the owner stands,
with bow and arrow in hand.

The rowers sit together in pairs on the thwarts and propel the 502
boat with light oars that are different in the north and the south. In 171
the Shortland Islands the oar (fase) has a wider and shorter blade than
in Buka; at the upper end the handle is provided with a small crook
that projects at a right angle and gives the hand a comfortable means of
grasping it powerfully. These oars are very well planed, but other- 501
wise unornamented. In Buka the oar (hose) is equipped with a long, 171
pointed, lancet-shaped blade and this is frequently decorated in bas
relief--usually with the characteristic grotesque head or human figure,
sometimes with a bird or fish, and sometimes also with round figures
or zigzag lines; here the handle is never provided with a crook. I
would like to mention that this characteristic Buka oar is still rather
common nowadays, but it is cited completely erroneously in handbooks

3: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1932
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

the house. When you want to come back, beat on the 539/773
root of a tree and I shall hear you and put on my *takop*."
(The *takop* is the hood worn by the women in accordance [291
with the rule of avoidance which forbids them to see or be 606]
seen by their sons-in-law.)

Then she took a knife and cut a piece of her flesh and cooked it. Then she chewed areca nut and spat the juice about. When her son-in-law and his wife came back she fooled them. They asked: "Who has been chewing areca nut here?" She said: "Some people who came to bring us a pig." She gave the two of them pieces of meat. The couple ate the flesh of their relative.

They went again to work, the two of them. They talked to their child, they made him lie down in the roof under a food-basket. Tchinaleke took off her *takop*, and the child saw her bones and her flesh. He was afraid, and he urinated. It dripped down and wetted Tchinaleke's bones. She thought it was water, that the others had hidden. Her flesh gave her pain. Then the child cried out, from his place in the rafters, he was afraid of Tchinaleke, she was like a skeleton.

The man and his wife came back, they asked the child: "Didn't you see them? Didn't you see the people who brought a pig to-day?" The child said to them: "There isn't any pig. Tchinaleke is fooling you both. She cuts her flesh and cooks it, and makes you think it is pig. You are eating the flesh of Tchinaleke." Then they said to Tchinaleke: "You have been fooling us about your flesh." Tchinaleke was very angry, she chased them away, they ran away. Tchinaleke wanted to beat them. They ran
away, they climbed up a *tchiniv* (tall slender tree used for [501
making dug-out canoes, the word is also used for "canoe"). 824]
Tchinaleke went to climb up behind them, she wanted to beat them. They teased her, they said: "You climb up a *karao*." (A plant of the ficus tribe, which has runners dropping straight to the ground from the branches of trees.)

534 [177] Even to this day the process is similar except that steel chisels and adzes have been brought into play by the experts.

[184] The size of the *tui* varies. On Pororan Island (situated five miles west of the Buka mainland) there are three standard sizes: the *tui*, the *halan* and the *king*. The former measures about eight feet long and four feet high; the *halan*, five feet by two feet, and the *king* three feet by one foot.

The fact that the word *tui* is used for the large drum and *king* for the smaller size prompted me to make searching enquiry as to their etymological origin to see if I might connect them with the Fijian *tui* (king) but, so far as I can gather, the words originated simply from their close resemblance to the sound which both these instruments make.

202 For signalling the *tui* is used exclusively, and one is to be found
in every *tsuhan*, or master's house, in the village. The beating is
done by hitting the drum sharply, near the top in the centre with
the soft-nosed *tsinoi*, or beater, which consists of a number of thick
[824] strips of the lawyer vine about six feet in length, bound closely
together at the striking end, allowing the other end of the strips to
remain loose. These, by a certain twist of the wrist, create a rustling
accompaniment to the beats when excitement runs high during a
dance. No special men in a village are invested with the privilege
of beating a *tui*, though uninitiated boys are not supposed to do so.
Women, on the occasion of their own dances, are allowed to beat
one.

535 533 During dances (*guma*) the *tui* and *king* are used. The *king* commences and continues with a uniform series of short beats, which attain a higher and more penetrating note than the deep-toned *tui*, even as the word *king* when pronounced sharply. The *tui* beats are varied according to the humour and the ability of the man employed as beater. Usually the beats are:

— — — . . . . . . — — — — . . . . . . —[1]

Beats continue for a period of from one to two minutes and then *tui* and *king* cease simultaneously, the signal being two or three louder beats made on the *tui*. If the cessation of beats is not simul-

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[1] A long beat is represented by a dash; a short one by a dot.

The Medicine used generally consists
751 278 of a mixture of dried leaves, roots, etc. with the red powder called *oin* (iron oxide). Packages of this "medicine" are highly valued; not infrequently they have been obtained from the natives of another district and their owners are ignorant of the ingredients used. One such, in my collection, is intended to be rubbed over a person's eyes when he has to walk about at night; this is thought to prevent the *urar* from giving you the disease. Another method is to make a drink from the leaves of *gagĕ* (*Dryopteris pteroidea*); this must be used frequently throughout the time of sickness.

CONVALESCENCE

758 278 When a person is recovering after an illness, and is very thin and wasted, the leaves of *bubus*, squeezed into water to make a drink, are given to help him to "get fat quickly." There are also special leaves to be dipped in water and used to rub him down.

MISCELLANEOUS

752 278 For the bite of a centipede, chew the root of *wapindi* (a tree) and with your mouth full bite at the place. Sprinkle lime on the leaves and press them on the joints at either side of the bite (*e.g.* if bitten on the forearm, press on the elbow and wrist). For the wound made by a sting-ray, rub the leaves on the place.

751 ● [824] To prevent sunstroke, while working in the taro garden, take the leaves of *iag* (*Coleus Blumei var.*), put them in half a coconut shell, fill it with water, and leave it lying in the sun. When you have finished working you must pour the contents of the coconut shell into the fire. To leave it where it is, or to empty it on the ground, will cause rain.

SUMMARY

757 It will be seen that the natives of north Bougainville practise a variety of curative methods, their technique including the giving of medicine by the mouth; its application externally as we use ointment; the use of a suppository; the use of emetics; the application of counter-irritants: the application of heat in a form comparable to our poultice, and also of smoke; inhaling steam; sniffing aromatic plants; massage, manipulation and pressure. No treatment involving bleeding came to my notice. So far as I could ascertain they do not practise any form of surgery.